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A

HISTORY OF THE HIGHLANDS
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AND OF

THE HIGHLAND CLANS,

BY

JAMES BROWNE, ESQ., LL.D., ADVOCATE.

Author of "Aperçu sur les Hiéroglyphes d'Égypte et les progrès faits jusqu'à présent dans leur Déchiffrement,"
"A Critical Examination of Dr M'Culloch's Book on the Highlands," &c. &c.

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VOL. II.—PART II.

GLASGOW:

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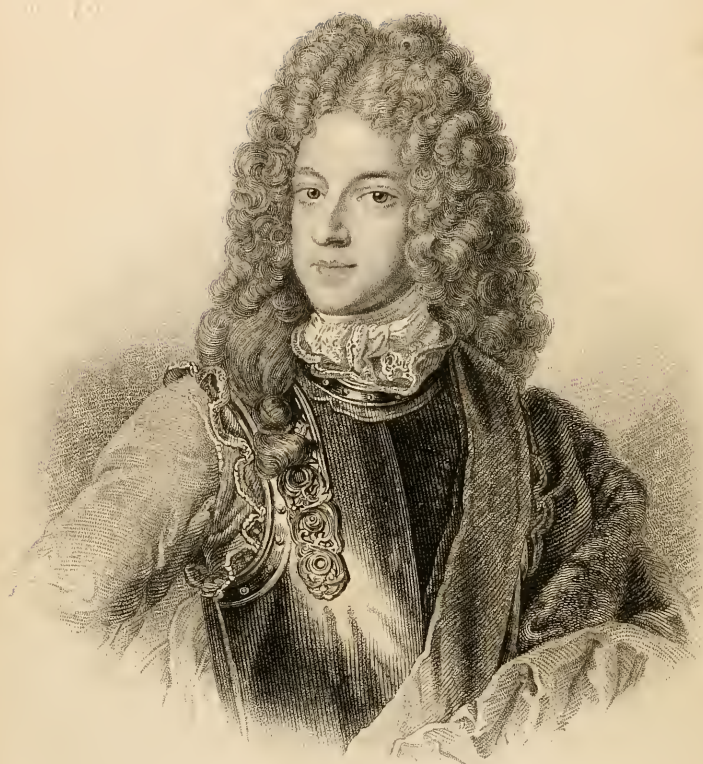
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BOOK

GLASGOW :

FULLARTON AND CO., PRINTERS, VILLAFIELD.



James Stewart

Chevalier de St. George.

Engraved by A. Freeman from the original painting.



Archibald Campbell, Baron of Cragyll,

BH 1. 100

engraved by James

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design could be in his contemplation, intended as a feint to deceive the court and lull suspicion, so as to enable him the more effectually to conceal the preparations he had made for his intended departure? These are questions of which, in the absence of all evidence, no solution can be attempted; but all, or each of them, may be fairly answered in the affirmative, as being in perfect conformity with the earl's character.

Having disguised himself by changing his usual dress, he embarked at Gravesend on the second day of August, seventeen hundred and fifteen, on board a vessel bound for Newcastle, accompanied by Major-General Hamilton and Colonel Hay, and attended by two servants. On arriving at Newcastle he and his party went on board another vessel bound for the Frith of Forth, the property of one Spence, and were landed at Ely, a small port on the Fife coast, near the mouth of the Frith. During the great civil war, and for many years thereafter, a landing in Fife in support of the Stuarts would have been a dangerous attempt, but the opinions of many of the Fife people had, of late, undergone a complete revolution; and, at the time in question, Fife had, as the Jacobites would have said, many "honest" men, or, in other words, persons who were warmly attached to the interests of the exiled family. From Ely, Mar proceeded to Crail, where he was met by Sir Alexander Erskine, the Lord Lyon, and other friends of the Jacobite interest, who accompanied him to the house of "the Honest Laird," a name by which John Bethune of Balfour, a staunch Jacobite, was commonly known. After remaining a few days in Fife, Mar paid a visit to his brother-in-law, the earl of Kinnoull, at his seat of Dupplin in the county of Perth, whence he departed on Thursday the eighteenth of August, and crossed the Tay about two miles below Perth, with forty horse, on his way to his seat of Kildrumny, in the Braes of Mar. On the following day he despatched letters to the principal Jacobites, inviting them to attend a grand hunting-match at Braemar, on the twenty-seventh of August. As the government was on the alert, and watched very narrowly any unusual assemblages, the Jacobites had frequently before had recourse to this and similar expedients to enable them to concert their measures without exciting the suspicion of the government.*

That the earl had matured his plans before coming to Scotland, and that the Jacobites were let into the secret of his designs, is evident from the fact that, as early as the sixth of August, those in Edinburgh and the neighbourhood were aware of his intention to come down to Scotland. On the following morning the Honourable John Dalzel, a captain on half pay, sent in a resignation of his commission to the earl of Orkney, that he might join with greater freedom the standard of the earl, and set off immediately to Elliock, the residence of his

* Rae, 188. *Annals of King George, year the second.* London. 1717. p. 25.

brother, the earl of Carnwath, to apprise him of Mar's expected arrival. Dalziel reached Elloick at night, and next morning expresses were sent by the earl to the earl of Nithsdale, the Viscount Kenmure, and the other Jacobite chiefs in the southern and western parts of Scotland, communicating the same information. The earl of Carnwath went from Elloick the same day to meet his friends, and, after spending some time together, concerting measures and sounding the inclinations of the people, they repaired to Lothian, giving out as they went along, that they were going to attend a hunt in the north.*

Under pretence of attending a hunting-match, a considerable number of noblemen and gentlemen arrived at Aboyne, in Aberdeenshire, about the time appointed. Among these were the marquis of Huntly, eldest son of the duke of Gordon; the marquis of Tullibardine, eldest son of the duke of Athole; the earls of Nithsdale, Marischal, Traquair, Errol, Southesk, Carnwath, Seaforth, Linlithgow, and others; the viscounts Kilsyth, Kenmure, Kingston, and Stormont; the Lords Rollo, Duffus, Drummond, Strathallan, Ogilvie, and Nairne; and about twenty-six gentlemen of influence in the Highlands, among whom were Generals Hamilton and Gordon, Glengary, Campbell of Glendarnel, and the lairds of Auchterhouse and Auldbar.†

After the meeting had assembled, the earl proceeded to address his friends in a regular and well ordered speech. He began by expressing his sorrow for having been instrumental in forwarding the union of the two kingdoms. He informed them that his eyes were now opened, and that he clearly perceived the error he had committed: that he would therefore do every thing in his power to make his countrymen again a free people, and restore to them their ancient liberties which had been surrendered into the hands of the English by the accursed treaty of union. That this treaty, which had already done so much injury to Scotland, was calculated to inflict additional grievances upon it, and that such were the designs of the English appeared evident by the measures which had been daily pursued ever since the Elector of Hanover had ascended the throne. That this Prince regarded neither the welfare of his people, nor their religion; but had committed the charge of both entirely to a set of men who, while they stuck to the protestant succession, made such alterations in church and state as they thought fit. That they had already begun to encroach upon the liberties of both, on which account he had resolved to vindicate their rights by placing the lawful sovereign, James VIII., who had promised to hear their grievances and redress their wrongs, upon the throne of his ancestors. He then informed them of his determination to take up arms in behalf of his lawful king: that he would summon all the fencible men among his own tenantry, and with them hazard his life in the cause; and he exhorted all those assembled to follow his example. To encourage them

* Rae, p. 168.

† Ibid. p. 189. *Annals of King George*, p. 15, 16.

to do so, he assured them that there would be a general rising in England in support of the cause; that they would receive powerful assistance from France, whither the duke of Ormond and Lord Bolingbroke had gone to induce Louis XIV. to aid and assist them with men and money; and that the duke of Berwick would certainly land in the West of England with a large force. That there were thousands of persons throughout the kingdom, who had solemnly pledged themselves to him, and to one another, to join him in deposing King George, and establishing James VIII. on the throne. He then informed them that he had received letters (which he exhibited) under the hand of James himself, from Lorraine, promising to come over to Scotland and place his person under the protection of the valour and fidelity of his Scottish subjects; and that, in the meantime, ships, provided with arms, ammunition, and other military stores, would be sent over from France as soon as a landing port should be fixed upon. He thereupon produced, or stated that he had in his possession, a commission from James, appointing him his Lieutenant-general, and commander of all the Jacobite forces in Scotland,* and informed the meeting that he was furnished with money, and that an arrangement had been made by which he would be enabled to pay regularly the troops that should be raised, so that no gentleman who might join his standard, with his followers, would be put to any expense, and the country would be quite relieved from the burden of supporting the war. After the earl had finished his harangue, the meeting unanimously resolved to take up arms in support of the Chevalier; and after taking an oath of fidelity to the earl as the representative of James VIII. and to each other; the persons present took leave of him, and promised to return immediately to their estates and raise their men, and to hold themselves in readiness to join the earl on the first summons. To enlist the feelings of the people in favour of the prince, copies of his manifesto, of which each individual who attended the meeting obtained a supply from the earl, were industriously circulated throughout the country, and dropt in the streets of the different towns in Scotland during night.

The government was not inattentive to the proceedings of the Jacobites, and measures were adopted immediately by the Lord Advocate for securing the chiefs. Under the authority of an act passed on the thirtieth of August, the following persons were summoned by him to appear at Edinburgh within certain specified periods, under the pain of a year's imprisonment and other penalties, to give bail for their allegiance to the government; namely, the marquis of Huntly, the earls of Seaforth,

* There appears to be a discrepancy in the accounts as to this matter. The Master of Sinclair says, (MS. in the possession of the earl of Rosslyn) that Mar produced a forged commission, but it would appear from the Journal printed at Paris, (Appendix to Paton's History, p. 241.) with his own approbation, that the meeting was aware that he had no commission, and the writer of the Journal mentions as "no small proof of the people's zeal for their country, that so great a number followed his advice, and obeyed his orders before he could produce one."

Winton, Carnwath, Southesk, Nithsdale, Linlithgow, Mar, Hume, Wigton, Kinnoul, Panmure, Marischal, and Breadalbane; the viscounts Kenmure, Stormont, Kilsyth, Kingston, and Strathallan; the lords Nairn, Rollo, Glenorchy, Drummond, and Ogilvie; Sir James Campbell of Auchinbreck, Sir Duncan Campbell of Lochnell, Sir Donald Macdonald, Sir Patrick Murray of Auchtertyre, Sir Hugh Paterson of Bannockburn, Sir Alexander Erskine, Lord Lyon, Sir John Maclean, Lieutenant-general George Hamilton, the masters of Stormont and Nairn; Alexander Mackenzie of Fraserdale, James Stirling of Keir, Robert Stewart of Appin, John Campbell of Auchalader, William Murray, younger of Auchtertyre, Alexander Robertson of Struan, the chief of Mackinnon, Seton of Touch, Lieutenant Allan Cameron of Lochiel, Robert Roy, alias Macgregor, Stewart of Ardshiel, Francis Stewart, brother to the earl of Moray, John Cameron younger of Lochiel, the lairds of Clanranald, Glengary, and Keppoch; John Fullarton of Greenhall, Mackintosh younger of Borlum, James Malcolm of Grange, Henry Maule, brother to the earl of Panmure, Walkinshaw of Barrafield, Colin Campbell of Glendarnel, Graham of Bucklyvie, George Home of Whitfield, John Drummond brother to Lord Drummond, Lyon of Auchterhouse, Colonel Balfour, Bethune of Balfour, and William Drummond, servant to Lord Drummond. The time allowed for the appearance of such of the before-mentioned persons as resided to the south of the river Tay, was seven days, to those on the north, fifteen, and to such as might be out of Scotland, sixty days after the day of citation. Very few of them however appeared, and the remainder, almost without exception, rushed at once into the insurrection.

The confederated chiefs had scarcely all of them reached their respective homes, when they were again summoned by Mar to meet him at Aboyne, on the third of September, to concert measures for appearing immediately in arms. Some of those who resided only a short distance from the appointed rendezvous, attended, and having received instructions to assemble their men, and to join him without delay, at Kirkmichael, a village in Braemar, they returned to their estates, and despatched the fiery cross to summon their followers to the field. With sixty followers only, Mar proclaimed the Chevalier at Castletown in Braemar, after which he proceeded to Kirkmichael, where on the sixth of September he raised his standard, which was consecrated by prayer, in presence, according to some accounts, of a force of two thousand men, most of whom were horse.* When the standard was in the course of being erected, the ball on the top of the pole fell off, an incident which was regarded by the superstitious highlanders as a bad omen, and which threw a damp over the proceedings of the day.

On the following day, Mar intimidated by a circular letter to the gentlemen of Perthshire, his appointment to the chief command of all

* Annals of 2nd year of George I. p. 28.

King James's forces in Scotland, and he required them to hold themselves in readiness, to join him with their vassals when called upon. He also directed them to secure the arms of such persons as were hostile to the cause of King James, and desired they would prevent their men from plundering, or living at free quarters, upon his Majesty's subjects. "The King," he observes, "makes no doubt of your zeal for his service, especially at this juncture when his cause is so deeply concerned, and the relieving of our native country from oppression and a foreign yoke, too heavy for us and our posterity to bear, and when now is the time to endeavour the restoring, not only our rightful and native king, but also our country to its ancient, free, and independent constitution under him, whose ancestors have reigned over us for so many generations."

Two days thereafter the earl published the following declaration. "Our rightful and natural king, James the eighth, by the grace of God, who is now coming to relieve us from our oppressions, having been pleased to intrust us with the direction of his affairs, and the command of his forces, in this, his ancient kingdom of Scotland: and some of his faithful subjects and servants met at Aboyne; namely, the Lord Huntly, the Lord Tullibardine, the Earl Marischal, the Earl Southesk, Glengary from the clans, Glenderule from the earl of Broadalbine, and gentlemen of Argyleshire, Mr Patrick Lyon of Auchterhouse, the laird of Auldbair, Lieutenant-general George Hamilton, Major-general Gordon, and myself, having taken into consideration his Majesty's last and late orders to us, find that as this is now the time that he ordered us to appear openly in arms for him, so it seems to us absolutely necessary, for his Majesty's service, and the relieving of our native country from all its hardships, that all his faithful and loving subjects, and lovers of their country, should, with all possible speed, put themselves into arms. These are, therefore, in his Majesty's name and authority, and by virtue of the power aforesaid, and by the king's special order to me thereunto, to require and empower you furthwith, to raise your fencible men with their best arms; and you are immediately to march them to join me and some other of the king's forces, at the Invor of Mar, on Monday next, in order to proceed in our march to attend the king's standard with his other forces. The king intending that his forces shall be paid from the time of their first setting out, he expects, as he positively orders, that they behave themselves civilly, and commit no plundering or other disorders, upon the highest penalties, and his displeasure, which is expected you'll see observed.

"Now is the time for all good men to show their zeal for his majesty's service, whose cause is so deeply concerned, and the relief of our native country from oppression, and a foreign yoke too heavy for us and our posterity to bear; and to endeavour the restoring not only of our rightful and native king, but also our country to its ancient, free, and inde-

pendent constitution, under him whose ancestors have reigned over us for so many generations.

"In so honourable, good, and just a cause, we cannot doubt of the assistance, direction, and blessing of Almighty God, who has so often rescued the royal family of Stuart, and our country, from sinking under oppression.

"Your punctual observance of these orders is expected, for the doing of all which this shall be to you, and all you employ in the execution of them, a sufficient warrant. Given at Brae-Mar, the ninth of September, 1715. MAR."

As a contrast to this high-flown and liberty-sounding document, the following singular letter, written by the earl to his baillie in the lordship of Kildrummy, on the evening of the day on which the above declaration was issued, is curious. It exhibits, in a remarkable point of view, the despotic power which, even down to such a modern period, a feudal chief considered himself entitled to exercise with impunity over his vassals. Had such an order been issued by a baron, who had scarcely ever gone beyond the boundaries of his own demesnes, it might have been passed over without remark, as in perfect keeping with the ideas of a feudal despot; but to see the refined courtier threatening his own vassals and tenants with destruction, and even extermination, merely because they hesitated to take up arms in opposition to the government under which they lived, and under which the earl himself had served, is indeed very extraordinary. It is probable, however, that the earl intended this mandate as a mere *brutum fulmen*, as it is inconceivable that he could contemplate the execution of such a barbarous threat.

"*Invercauld, Sept. 9, at night, 1715.*

"Jocke,—Ye was in the right not to come with the hundred men ye sent up to-night, when I expected four times the number. It is a pretty thing, when all the Highlands of Scotland are now rising upon their king and country's account, as I have accounts from them since they were with me, and the gentlemen of our neighbouring lowlands expecting us down to join them, that my men should be only refractory. Is not this the thing we are now about, which they have been wishing these twenty-six years? And now, when it is come, and the king and country's cause is at stake, will they for ever sit still and see all perish? I have used gentle means too long, and so I shall be forced to put other orders I have in execution. I have sent you enclosed an order for the lordship of Kildrummy, which you are immediately to intimate to all my vassals: if they give ready obedience, it will make some amends, and if not ye may tell them from me, that it will not be in my power to save them (were I willing) from being treated as enemies, by those who are ready soon to join me; and they may depend on it, that I will be

the first to propose, and order their being so. Particularly, let my own tenants in Kildrummy know, that if they come not forth with their best arms, that I will send a party immediately to burn what they shall miss taking from them. And they may believe this not only a threat, but, by all that's sacred, I'll put it in execution, let my loss be what it will, that it may be an example to others. You are to tell the gentlemen that I'll expect them in their best accoutrements, on horseback, and no excuse to be accepted of. Go about this with all diligence, and come yourself and let me know your having done so. All this is not only as ye will be answerable to me, but to your king and country.

Your assured friend and servant,

MAR."

"*To John Forbes of Inverau, Bailie of Kildrummy.*"

While the Jacobite chiefs were collecting their forces, an event occurred which ought to have induced them to abandon, at least for a time, an enterprise signalized by such an untoward beginning. This was the death of Louis the Fourteenth, who expired on the first of September, after a short illness.* An occurrence more unfortunate to the cause of the Chevalier could scarcely have happened at such a conjuncture, as it tended to damp the spirits of his partizans, who looked upon Louis as the main prop of the cause. On receipt of this intelligence, the chiefs held a meeting to consult upon the course they ought to pursue under this new aspect of matters. Some of the more moderate were for returning home, and remaining quiet till the arrival of the Chevalier, should he receive any encouragement from the new government of France to proceed on his intended voyage; but the majority argued that they had already gone too far to recede with safety, and that as a general insurrection would take place in England in favour of the Chevalier, they should take the field forthwith. An immediate appeal to arms having been resolved upon, messengers were despatched to France to urge the Chevalier to hasten his departure, and the following notable manifesto, which had been privately printed at Edinburgh by Freebairn, one of the king's printers, was issued at the same time:—

* Of this extraordinary personage, whose character has been represented in various and contrary points of view, by a host of writers, the duke of Berwick, who knew him well, thus writes:—"No prince was ever so little known as this monarch. He has been represented as a man not only cruel and false, but difficult of access. I have frequently had the honour of audiences from him, and have been very familiarly admitted to his presence; and I can affirm that his *pride* was only in *appearance*. He was born with an *air of majesty* which struck every one so much that nobody could approach him without being seized with awe and respect; but, so soon as you spoke to him, he softened his countenance, and put you quite at ease. He was the most polite man in his kingdom, and his answers were accompanied with so many obliging expressions, that, if he granted your request, the obligation was doubled by the manner of conferring it; and, if he refused, you could not complain."—*Memoires* vol. II.

“Manifesto by the Noblemen, Gentlemen, and others, who dutifully appear at this time in asserting the undoubted rights of their lawful sovereign, James the Eighth, by the grace of God, king of Scotland, England, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c.; and for relieving this, his ancient kingdom, from the oppressions and grievances it lies under.

“His majesty’s right of blood to the crowns of these realms is undoubted, and has never been disputed or arraigned by the least circumstance or lawful authority. By the laws of God, by the ancient constitutions, and by the positive unrepealed laws of the land, we are bound to pay his majesty the duty of loyal subjects. Nothing can absolve us from this our duty of subjection and obedience. The laws of God require our allegiance to our rightful king—the laws of the land secure our religion and other interests; and his majesty giving up himself to the support of his protestant subjects, puts the means of securing to us our concerns, religious and civil, in our own hands. Our fundamental constitution has been entirely altered and sunk amidst the various shocks of unstable faction, while, in searching out new expedients pretended for our security, it has produced nothing but daily disappointments, and has brought us and our posterity under a precarious dependence upon foreign councils and interests, and the power of foreign troops. The late unhappy union which was brought about by the mistaken notions of some, and the ruinous and selfish designs of others, has proved so far from lessening and healing the differences betwixt his majesty’s subjects of Scotland and England, that it has widened and increased them. And it appears by experience so inconsistent with the rights, privileges, and interests of us, and our good neighbours and fellow-subjects of England, that the continuance of it must inevitably ruin us, and hurt them; nor can any way be found out to relieve us, and restore our ancient and independent constitution, but by the restoring our rightful and natural king, who has the only undoubted right to reign over us. Neither can we hope that the party who chiefly contributed to bring us into bondage, will at any time endeavour to work our relief, since it is known how strenuously they opposed, in two late instances, the efforts that were made by all Scotsmen by themselves, and supported by the best and wisest of the English, towards so desirable an end, as they will not adventure openly to disown the dissolution of the union to be. Our substance has been wasted in the late ruinous wars, and we see an unavoidable prospect of having wars continued on us and our posterity so long as the possession of the crown is not in the right line. The hereditary rights of the subjects, though confirmed by conventions and parliaments, are now treated as of no value or force, and past services to the crown and royal family are now looked upon as grounds of suspicion. A packed up assembly, who call themselves a British parliament, have, so far as in them lies, inhumanely murdered their own

and our sovereign, by promising a good sum of money as the reward of so execrable a crime. They have proscribed, by unaccountable and groundless impeachments and attainders, the worthy patriots of England, for their honourable and successful endeavours to restore trade, plenty, and peace to these nations.

“They have broken in upon the sacred laws of both countries by which the liberty of our persons was secured, and they have empowered a foreign prince, (who, notwithstanding his expectations of the crown for fifteen years, is still unacquainted with our manners, customs, and language) to make an absolute conquest (if not timely prevented) of the three kingdoms, by investing himself with an unlimited power, not only of raising unnecessary forces at home, but also of calling in foreign troops, ready to promote his uncontrollable designs. Nor can we be ever hopeful of its being otherwise, in the way it is at present, for some generations to come. And the sad consequences of these unexampled proceedings have really been so fatal to great numbers of our kinsmen, friends and fellow subjects of both kingdoms, that they have been constrained to abandon their country, houses, wives and children, to give themselves up prisoners, and perhaps victims, to be sacrificed to the pleasure of foreigners, and a few hot-headed men of a restless faction, whom they employ. Our troops abroad, notwithstanding their long and remarkable good services, have been treated, since the peace, with neglect and contempt, and particularly in Holland; and it is not now the officers’ long service, merit, and blood they have lost, but money and favour by which they can obtain justice in their preferments. So that it is evident the safety of his majesty’s person, and independency of his kingdoms, call loudly for immediate relief and defence.

“The consideration of these unhappy circumstances, with the due regard we have to common justice, the peace and quiet of us and our posterity, and our duty to his majesty, and his commands, are the powerful motives which have engaged us in our present undertaking, which we are firmly and heartily resolved to push to the utmost, and stand by one another to the last extremity, as the only solid and effectual means for putting an end to so dreadful a prospect, as by our present situation we have before our eyes, and with faithful hearts true to our rightful king, our country and our neighbours, we earnestly beseech and expect, as his majesty commands, the assistance of all our true fellow subjects to second our attempt; declaring hereby our sincere intentions that we will promote and concur in all lawful means for settling a lasting peace to these lands, under the auspicious government of our native-born rightful sovereign, the direction of our own domestic councils, and the protection of our native forces and troops. That we will in the same manner concur and endeavour to have our laws, liberties, and properties, secured by the parliaments of both kingdoms; that by the wisdom of such parliaments we will endeavour to have

such laws enacted as shall give absolute security to us, and future ages, for the protestant religion, against all efforts of arbitrary power, popery, and all its other enemies.

“Nor have we any reason to be distrustful of the goodness of God, the truth and purity of our holy religion, or the known excellency of his majesty’s judgment, as not to hope, that in due time, good examples and conversation with our learned divines, will remove those prejudices, which we know his education in a Popish country has not rivetted in his royal discerning mind; and we assure, as justice is a virtue in all religions and professions, so the doing of it to him will not lessen his good opinion of ours. That as the king is willing to give his royal indemnity for all that is past, so he will cheerfully concur in passing general acts of oblivion, that our fellow subjects, who have been misled, may have a fair opportunity of living with us in the same friendly manner that we design to live with them. That we will use our endeavours for redressing the bad usage of our troops abroad, and bringing the troops at home on the same footing and establishment of pay, as those of England. That we will sincerely and heartily go into such measures as shall maintain effectually, and establish, a right, firm, and lasting union betwixt his majesty’s ancient kingdom of Scotland, and our good neighbours and fellow subjects of the kingdom of England.

“The peace of these nations being thus settled and we freed from foreign dangers, we will use our endeavours to have the army reduced to the usual number of guards and garrisons; and will concur in such laws and methods, as shall relieve us of the heavy taxes and debts now lying upon us, and at the same time, will support the public credit in all its parts. And we hereby faithfully promise and engage that every officer who joins with us in our king and country’s cause shall not only enjoy the same post he now does, but shall be advanced and preferred according to his rank and station and the number of men he brings off with him to us. And each foot soldier so joining us shall have twenty shillings sterling, and each trooper or dragoon, who brings horse and accoutrements along with him, £12 sterling gratuity, besides their pay; and in general we shall concur with all our fellow subjects in such measures as shall make us flourish at home, and be formidable abroad, under our rightful sovereign, and the peaceable harmony of our ancient fundamental constitution, undisturbed by a pretender’s interests and councils from abroad, or a restless faction at home. In so honourable, so good, and just a cause, we do not doubt of the assistance, direction, and blessing of Almighty God, who has so often succoured the royal family of Stuarts, and our country from sinking under oppression.”

A document better calculated to arouse the national feeling could not have been penned. Every topic which could excite a spirit of disaffection against the government then existing is artfully introduced, and

enforced with an energy of diction and a strength of reasoning admirably fitted for exciting the spirit of a people living, as they imagined, in a state of national degradation. But this manifesto which, a few years before, would have set the whole of Scotland in a flame, produced little or no effect in those quarters where alone it was necessary to make such an appeal.

CHAPTER XIII.

Active measures of the government to suppress the insurrection—Ineffectual attempt to surprise the castle of Edinburgh—Duke of Argyle appointed to the command of the government forces—Expeditions of General Gordon and Campbell of Glenlyon into Argyle—Armistice between Glenlyon and the Campbells—Chevalier proclaimed at Moulinearn by Mar—Capture of Perth by the rebels—Seize a vessel with arms at Burntisland—Insurrection in Northumberland—Capture of Holy Island—Preparations for the defence of Newcastle—Affair at Keith—Insurrection in the south of Scotland under Viscount Kenmure—Expedition of Brigadier Mackintosh—Crosses the Frith of Forth—Lands at North Berwick and other places in the neighbourhood—March of Mackintosh towards Edinburgh—Enters Leith—March of the duke of Argyle to Leith—Retires—Retreat of Mackintosh—Reaches Kelso and joins the forces under Forster—Disputes among the Insurgents—Secession of five hundred Highlanders—March of the rebels through Cumberland and Westmoreland—Battle of Preston.

WHILE the earl of Mar was thus busily engaged exciting a rebellion in the north, the government was no less active in making preparations to meet it. Apprehensive of a general rising in England, particularly in the west, where a spirit of disaffection had often displayed itself, and to which the insurrection in Scotland was, it was believed, intended as a diversion; the government, instead of despatching troops to Scotland, posted the whole disposable force in the disaffected districts, at convenient distances, by which disposition, considerable bodies could be assembled together to assist each other in case of need. The wisdom of this plan soon became apparent, as there can be no doubt, that had an army been sent into Scotland to suppress the rebellion in the north, an insurrection would have broken out in England, which might have been fatal to the government.*

To strengthen, however, the military force in Scotland, the regiments of Forfar, Orrery, and Hill, were recalled from Ireland. These arrived at Edinburgh about the twenty-fourth of August, and were soon thereafter despatched along with other troops to the west, under Major-General Wightman, for the purpose of securing the fords of the Forth, and the pass of Stirling. These troops being upon the reduced establishment, did not exceed sixteen hundred men in whole, a force totally inadequate for the protection of such an important post. Orders were, therefore, sent to the earl of Stair's regiment of dragoons and two foot regiments, which lay in the north of England, to march to the camp in the park of Stirling with all expedition, and at same time, Evans's regiment of

* Annals of 2d year of George I. p. 30.

dragoons, and Clyton's and Wightman's regiments of foot were recalled from Ireland.*

During the time the camp was forming at Stirling, the friends of the Chevalier at Edinburgh formed the daring project of seizing the castle of Edinburgh, the possession of which would have been of vast importance to the Jacobite cause. Lord Drummond, a Catholic, was at the head of this party, which consisted of about ninety gentlemen selected for the purpose, about one half of whom were Highlanders. In the event of success, each of the adventurers was to receive £100 Sterling and a commission in the army. To facilitate their design, they employed one Arthur, who had formerly been an ensign in the Scotch guards, to corrupt some of the soldiers in the garrison, and who by money and promises of preferment induced a sergeant, a corporal, and two sentinels to enter into the views of the conspirators. These engaged to attend at a certain place upon the wall, on the north, near the Sally-port, in order to assist the conspirators in their ascent. The latter had prepared a scaling ladder made of ropes, capable of holding several men abreast, and had so contrived it, that it could be drawn up through means of pulleys, by a small rope which the soldiers were to fasten behind the wall. Having completed their arrangements, they fixed on the ninth of September for the attempt, being the day after the last detachment of the government troops quartered in camp in St Anne's Yards, near Edinburgh, had set off for Stirling. But the projectors of this well concerted enterprise were doomed to lament its failure when almost on the eve of completion.

Arthur, the officer who had bribed the soldiers, having engaged his brother, a physician in Edinburgh, in the Jacobite interest, let him into the secret of the design upon the castle. Dr Arthur, who appears to have been a man of a timorous disposition, grew alarmed at this intelligence, and so deep had been the impression made upon his mind while contemplating the probable consequences of such a step, that on the day before the attempt his spirits became so depressed as to attract the notice of his wife, who importuned him to inform her of the cause. He complied, and his wife, without acquainting him, sent an anonymous letter, by a servant, to Sir Adam Cockburn of Orniston, lord-justice-clerk, acquainting him of the conspiracy. Cockburn received this letter at ten o'clock at night, and sent it off with a letter from himself to Lieutenant-Colonel Stuart, the deputy-governor of the castle, who received the communication shortly before eleven. Stuart lost no time in ordering the officers to double their guards and make diligent rounds; but probably supposing that no attempt would be made that night he went to bed after issuing these instructions. In the meantime, the conspirators had assembled at a tavern preparatory to their attempt, but unfortunately for its success they lingered among their cups far beyond the time they had fixed

* Annals of 2d year of George I. p. 36—7.

upon for putting their project into execution. In fact, they did not assemble at the bottom of the wall till after the deputy-governor had issued his orders, but ignorant of what had passed within the castle, they proceeded to tie the rope, which had been let down by the soldiers, to the ladder. Unhappily for the whole party, the hour for changing the sentinels had arrived, and while the traitorous soldiers were in the act of drawing up the ladder, one Lieutenant Lindsay, at the head of a party of fresh sentinels, came upon them on his way to the Sally-port. The soldiers, alarmed at the approach of Lindsay's party, immediately slipt the rope, and the ladder fell to the ground. The noise which this occurrence produced alarmed one of the sentinels, who instantly discharged his piece, upon which the conspirators, perceiving that they were discovered, fled and dispersed. A party of the town-guard which the lord provost, at the request of the lord-justice-clerk, had sent to patrol about the castle, attracted by the firing, immediately rushed from the West-Port, and repaired to the spot, but all the conspirators, with the exception of four whom they secured, had escaped. These were one Captain Maclean, an officer who had fought under Dundee at Killiecrankie, whom they found lying on the ground much injured by a fall from the ladder or from a precipice; Alexander Ramsay and George Boswell, writers in Edinburgh; and one Lesly, who had been in the service of the same dutchess of Gordon who had distinguished herself in the affair of the medal. This party picked up the ladder and a quantity of muskets and carbines which the conspirators had thrown away in their flight.*

Such was the result of an enterprise which had been matured with great judgment, and which would probably have succeeded, but for the trifling circumstance before mentioned. The capture of such an important fortress as the castle of Edinburgh, at such a time, would have been of vast importance to the Jacobites, inasmuch as it would not only have afforded them an abundant supply of military stores, with which it was then well provided, and put them in possession of a considerable sum of money, but would also have served as a rallying point to the disaffected living to the south of the Forth, who only waited a favourable opportunity to declare themselves. Besides giving them the command of the city, the possession of the castle by a Jacobite force would have compelled the commander of the government forces to withdraw the greater part of his troops from Stirling, and to leave that highly important post exposed to the northern insurgents. Had the attempt succeeded, Lord Drummond, the contriver of the design, was to have been made governor of the castle, and notice of its capture was to have been announced to some of the Jacobite partizans on the opposite coast of Fife, by firing three rounds of cannon from its battlements. On hearing the report of the guns, these men were

* Patten, p. 159, 160. Annals of George I. p. 39, 40. Rae, p. 199, 200.

instantly to have communicated the intelligence to the earl of Mar, who was to hasten south with all his forces.*

As the appointment of a person of rank, influence, and talent, to the command of the army, destined to oppose the earl of Mar, was of great importance, the duke of Argyle, who had served with distinction abroad, and who had formerly acted as commander-in-chief of the forces in Scotland, was pitched upon as generalissimo of the army encamped at Stirling. Having received instructions from his majesty, at an audience on the eighth of September, he departed for Scotland the following day, accompanied by some of the Scottish nobility, and other persons of distinction, and arrived at Edinburgh on the fourteenth. About the same time, the earl of Sutherland, who had offered his services to raise the clans in the northern highlands, in support of the government, was sent down from London to Leith in a ship of war with orders to obtain a supply of arms and ammunition from the governor of the castle of Edinburgh. He arrived on the twenty-first of September, and after giving instructions for the shipment of these supplies, departed for the north.

When the duke of Argyle reached Edinburgh, he found that Mar had made considerable progress in the insurrection, and that the regular forces at Stirling were far inferior in point of numbers to those of the Jacobite commander. He, therefore, on the day he arrived in the capital, addressed a letter to the magistrates of Glasgow, (who, on the first appearance of the insurrection, had offered, in a letter to Lord Townshend, one of the secretaries of state, to raise six hundred men, in support of the government, at the expense of the city,) requesting them to send forthwith five or six hundred men to Stirling, under the command of such officers as they should think fit to appoint, to join the forces stationed there. In compliance with this demand, three battalions, amounting to between six and seven hundred men, under the command of the Lord Provost of the city, were successively despatched to Stirling on the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth of September. On the arrival of the first battalion, the duke addressed a second letter from Stirling to the magistrates of Glasgow, thanking them for their promptitude, and requesting them to send intimation, with the greatest despatch, to all the friends of the government in the west, to assemble all the fencible forces at Glasgow, and to hold them in readiness to march when required. In connexion with these instructions, the duke, at the same time, wrote letters of a similar import to the magistrates of all the well affected burghs, and to private individuals who were known to be favourably disposed. The most active measures were accordingly adopted in the south and west by the friends of the government, and in a short time a sufficient force was raised to keep the disaffected in these districts in check.†

Meanwhile, the earl of Mar and his friends were no less active in

* Annals of second year of George I., p. 40.—Patten, p. 160.

† Rae.

preparing for the campaign. Pursuant to an arrangement with the Jacobite chiefs, General Gordon, an officer of great bravery and experience, was despatched into the Highlands to raise the north-western clans, with instructions either to join Mar with such forces as he could collect at the fords of the Forth, or to march upon Glasgow by Dumbarton. Having collected a body of between four and five thousand men, chiefly Macdonalds, Macleans, and Camerons, Gordon attempted to surprise Fort-William, and succeeded so far as to carry by surprise some of the outworks, sword in hand, in which were a lieutenant, sergeant, and twenty-five men; but the garrison being timeously alarmed, he withdrew his men, and marched towards Inverary. This route, it is said, was taken at the suggestion of Campbell of Glendarnel, who, at the first meeting of the Jacobites had assured Mar and his friends that if the more northern clans would take Argyleshire in their way to the south, their numbers would be greatly increased by the Macleans, Macdonalds, Macdougalls, Macneills, and the other Macs of that shire, together with a great number of Campbells, of the family and followers of the earl of Breadalbane, Sir James Campbell of Auchinbreck, and Sir Duncan Campbell of Lochnell, all of whom, he said, would join in the insurrection, when they saw the other clans in that country at hand to protect them against those in the interest of the duke of Argyle.*

When the earl of Islay, brother to the duke of Argyle, heard of General Gordon's movements, he assembled about two thousand five hundred men to prevent a rising of the clans in the shire of Argyle, and of the disaffected branches of the name of Campbell. On arriving before Inverary, General Gordon found the place protected by entrenchments which the earl had thrown up. He did not venture on an attack, but contented himself with encamping at the north-east side of the town, at nearly the distance of a mile, where he continued some days without and hostile attempt being made on either side. It was evidently contrary to Gordon's plan to hazard an action, his sole design in entering Argyleshire being to give an opportunity to the Jacobite population of that district to join his standard, which the keeping such a large body of men locked up in Inverary, would greatly assist.

During the continuance of the "Black Camp," before Inverary, as General Gordon's party was denominated by the Campbells, the earl of Islay and his men were kept in a state of continual alarm from the most trifling causes. On one occasion, an amusing incident occurred, which excited the fears of the Campbells, and showed how greatly they dreaded an attack. Sometime before this occurrence, a small body of horse from Kintyre, had joined the earl: the men were quartered in the town, but the horses were put out to graze on the east side of the small river that runs past Inverary. The horses disliking their quarters,

* Rae, p. 223—Life of John, duke of Argyle. London, 1745. p. 178, 179.

took their departure one night in search of better pasture. They sought their way along the shore for the purpose of crossing the river at the lower end of the town. The trampling of their hoofs on the gravel being heard at some distance by the garrison, the earl's men were thrown into the utmost consternation, as they had no doubt that the enemy was advancing to attack them. As the horses were on full gallop, and advancing nearer every moment, the noise increasing as they approached, nothing but terror was to be seen in every face. With trembling hands they seized their arms and put themselves in a defensive posture to repel the attack, but they were fortunately soon relieved from the panic they had been thrown into by some of the horses which had passed the river approaching without riders; so that "at last (says the narrator of this anecdote) the whole was found only to be a plot among the Kintyre horse to desert not to the enemy, but to their own country; for 'tis to be supposed the horses, as well as their owners, were of very loyal principles."*

Shortly after this event, another occurrence took place, which terminated not quite so ridiculously as the other. One night the sergeant on duty, when going his rounds at the quarter of the town opposite to the place where the clans lay, happened to make some mistake in the watchword. The sentinel on duty supposing the sergeant and his party to be enemies, discharged his piece at them. The earl alarmed at the firing, immediately ordered the drums to beat to arms, and in a short time the whole of his men were assembled on the castle-green, where they were drawn up in battalia in regular order by torch or candle light, the night being extremely dark. As soon as they were marshalled, the earl gave them orders to fire in platoons towards the quarter whence they supposed the enemy was approaching, and, accordingly, they opened a brisk fire, which was kept up for a considerable time, by which several of their own sentinels in returning from their posts were wounded. Whilst the Campbells were thus employed upon the castle green, several gentlemen, some say general officers, who liked to fight "under covert," retired to the square tower or castle of Inverary, from the windows of which they issued their orders. When the earl found that he had no enemy to contend with, he ordered his men to cease firing, and to continue all night under arms. This humorous incident, however, was attended with good consequences to the terrified Campbells, as it had the effect of relieving them from the presence of the enemy. General Gordon, who had not the most distant intention of entering the town, on hearing the close and regular firing from the garrison, concluded that some regular forces had entered the town, to celebrate whose arrival the firing had taken place, and alarmed for his own safety, sounded a retreat towards Perthshire before day-light.†

No sooner, however, had the clans left Inverary, than a detachment

* Life of John Duke of Argyle, p. 180.

† Ibid. p. 181.

of the earl of Breadalbane's men, to the number of about five hundred, entered the shire under the command of Campbell of Glenlyon. To expel them, the earl of Islay sent a select body of about seven hundred men, in the direction of Lorn, under the command of Colonel Campbell of Fanab, an old experienced officer, who came up with Glenlyon's detachment at Glenscheluch, a small village at the end of the lake, called Lochnell, in the mid division of Lorn, about twenty miles distant from Inverary. Both sides immediately prepared for battle, and to lighten themselves as much as possible, the men threw off their plaids and other incumbrances. Whilst both parties were standing gazing on each other with fury in their looks, waiting for the signal to commence battle, a parley was proposed, in consequence of which, a conference was held half-way between the lines between the commanders. The result was, that the Breadalbane men, to spare the effusion of the Campbell blood, agreed to lay down their arms on condition of being allowed to march out of the country without disturbance. These terms being communicated to both detachments, were approved of by a loud shout of joy, and hostages were immediately exchanged on both sides for the due performance of the articles, which were, thereupon, proclaimed in the centre between the two armies. The earl of Islay, on coming up with the remainder of his forces, was dissatisfied with the terms of the capitulation, as he considered that he had it in his power to have cut off Glenlyon's party, but he was persuaded to accede to the articles, which were accordingly honourably observed on both sides.*

In the meantime, the earl of Mar had collected a considerable force with which he marched, about the middle of September, to Moulinearn, a small village in Athole, where he proclaimed the Chevalier. On entering Athole, he was joined by five hundred Athole-men, under the marquis of Tullibardine, and by the party of the earl of Breadalbane's men, under Campbell of Glenlyon and Campbell of Glendarnel. He was afterwards joined by the old earl himself, who, although he had, the day preceding his arrival, procured an affidavit from a physician in Perth, and the minister of the parish of Kenmore, of which he was patron, certifying his total inability, from age, and a complication of diseases, to implement a mandate of the government requiring him to attend at Edinburgh; yet, nevertheless, found himself able enough to take the field in support of the Chevalier.† Having received intelligence that the earl of Rothes, and some of the gentlemen of Fife, were advancing with five hundred of the militia of that county to seize Perth, he sent Colonel John Hay, brother to the earl of Kinnoul, with a detachment of two hundred horse to take possession of that town, who accordingly entered it on the fourteenth of September,

* Life of the Duke of Argyle, p. 184.

† Collection of original Letters and Authentic Papers relating to the Rebellion, 1715. p. 20.

without opposition, and there proclaimed the Chevalier. The provost made indeed a demonstration of opposition by collecting between three and four hundred men in the market place; but Colonel Hay having been joined by a party of one hundred and fifty men which had been sent into the town a few days before by the duke of Athole, the provost dismissed them. When the earl of Rothes, who was advancing upon Perth with a body of five hundred men, heard of the capture of Perth, he retired to Leslie, and sent notice of the event to the duke of Argyle. The possession of Perth was of importance to Mar in a double point of view, as it not only gave him the command of the whole of Fife, in addition to the country north of the Tay, but also inspired his friends with confidence.* Accordingly, the Chevalier was proclaimed at Aberdeen by the earl marischal, at Castle Gordon, by the marquis of Huntly, at Brechin, by the earl of Panmure, at Montrose, by the earl of Southesk, and at Dundee, by Graham of Duntroon, who was afterwards created Viscount Dundee, by the Chevalier.†

As Mar had no intention of descending into the Lowlands himself without a considerable force, he remained several days at Moulinearn waiting for the clans who had promised to join him, and in the mean time directed Colonel Hay, whom on the eighteenth of September, he appointed governor of Perth, to retain possession of that town at all hazards, and to defend it to the last extremity should the duke of Argyle attempt to drive him out. He also directed him to tender to the inhabitants the oath of allegiance to the Chevalier, and to expel from the town all persons who refused to take the oath. After this purgation had been effected, Governor Hay was ordered to appoint a free election of magistrates by poll, to open all letters passing through the post office, and to appoint a new post-master in whom he could have confidence. To support Governor Hay in case of an attack, Mar sent down a party of Robertsons, on the twenty-second, under the command of Alexander Robertson of Struan, their chief. "You must take care (says Mar in a letter which he wrote to Hay the same day) to please the elector of Strowan, as they call him. He is an old colonel; but, as he says himself, understands not much of the trade. So he'll be ready to be advised by Colonel Balfour and Urquhart. As for money, I am not so rife of it as I hope to be soon; but I have sent some of the little I have, fifty guineas, by the bearer."‡

At this time, Mar's forces did not probably exceed three thousand men, but their number having been increased to upwards of five thousand within a few days thereafter, he marched down upon Perth, which he entered on the twenty-eighth of September, on which day the Honourable James Murray, second son of the Viscount Stormont, arrived at Perth with letters from the Chevalier to the earl, giving him as-

* Annals of 2d year of George I. p. 41. Patten, p. 5—155—220.

† Rae, p. 191.

‡ Original Letter in possession of the Earl of Kinnoul.

surances of speedy and powerful succour, and promises from the Chevalier, as was reported, of appearing personally in Scotland in a short time. This gentleman had gone over to France in the month of April preceding, to meet the Chevalier, who had appointed him principal secretary for Scotland, and had lately landed at Dover, whence he had travelled *incognito* over land to Edinburgh, where, although well known, he escaped detection. After spending a few days in Edinburgh, during which time he attended, it is said, several private meetings of the friends of the Chevalier, he crossed the Frith in an open boat at Newhaven, and landed at Burntisland, whence he proceeded to Perth.*

The first operations of the insurgents were marked by vigour and intrepidity. The seizure of Perth, though by no means a brilliant affair, was almost as important as a victory would have been at such a crisis, and another dashing exploit which a party of the earl's army performed a few days after his arrival at Perth, was calculated to make an impression equally favourable to the Jacobite cause. The account of this affair stands thus. Before the earl of Sutherland took his departure from Leith for Dunrobin castle, to raise a force in the north, he arranged with the government for a supply of arms, ammunition and military stores, which was to be furnished by the governor of Edinburgh castle, and sent down to the north with as little delay as possible. Accordingly, about the end of September, a vessel belonging to Burntisland, was freighted for that purpose, on board of which were put between three and four hundred stands of arms, and a considerable quantity of ammunition and military stores. The vessel anchored in Leith roads, but was prevented from passing down the Frith by a strong north-easterly wind, which, continuing to blow very hard, induced the captain for security's sake to weigh anchor and stand over to Burntisland roads, on the opposite coast of Fife, under the protection of the weather shore. The captain went on shore at Burntisland, to visit his wife and family who resided in the town, and the destination of the vessel, and the nature of her cargo being made known to some persons in the Jacobite interest, information thereof was immediately communicated by them to the earl of Mar, who at once resolved to send a detachment to Burntisland to seize the vessel. Accordingly, he despatched on the evening of the second of October, a party of four hundred horse, and five hundred foot, from Perth to Burntisland, with instructions so to order their march as not to enter the latter place till about midnight. To draw off the attention of the duke of Argyle from this expedition, Mar made a movement as if he intended to march with all his forces upon Alva, in the neighbourhood of Stirling, in consequence of which Argyle, who had received intelligence of Mar's supposed design, kept his men under arms the whole day in expectation of an attack. Meanwhile, the party having reached their destination, the foot entered Burntisland unperceived, and

* Annals of 2d year of George I. p. 42.

while the horse surrounded the town to prevent any person from carrying the intelligence of their arrival out of it, the foot seized all the boats in the harbour and along the shore, to cut off all communication by sea. About one hundred and twenty men were, thereupon, sent off in some boats to board the ship, which they secured without opposition. They at first attempted to bring the vessel into the harbour, but were prevented by the state of the tide. They, however, lost no time in discharging her cargo, and having pressed a number of carts and horses from the neighbourhood into their service, the detachment set off undisturbed for Perth with their booty, early next morning, where they arrived without molestation. Besides the arms and other warlike materials which they found in the vessel, the detachment carried off a hundred stands of arms from the town, and between thirty and forty more which they found in another ship. Emboldened by the success of this enterprise, parties of the insurgents spread themselves over Fife, took possession of all the towns on the north of the Frith of Forth, from Burntisland to Fifeness, and prohibited all communication between them and the opposite coast. The earl of Rothes, who, since the capture had quartered at Leslie, was now obliged for fear of being cut off, to retire to Stirling under the protection of a detachment of horse and foot, which had been sent from Stirling to support him, under the command of the earl of Forfar, and Colonel Ker.*

Mar had not yet been joined by any of the northern clans, nor by those under General Gordon; but on the fifth of October, about five hundred of the Mackintoshes arrived under the command of the laird of Borlum, better known by the name of Brigadier Mackintosh, an old and experienced soldier, who, as uncle of the chief, had placed himself at the head of that clan in consequence of his nephew's minority. This clan had formerly sided with the revolution party; but, influenced by the Borlum, who was a zealous Jacobite, they were among the first to espouse the cause of the Chevalier, and had seized upon Inverness before some of the other clans had taken the field.† On the following day the earl was also

* Annals of George I. p. 43, 44. Patten, p. 156. Rae, p. 234.

† The following letter was written by the young chief at the commencement of the insurrection.

"To the Honourable My Ladie Cullodin yor. at Cullodin.

MADAM,

You can't be a stranger to the circumstances I have put myself in at the tyme, and the great need I have of my own Men and followers wherever they may be found. Wherefor I thought fitt, seeing Cullodin is not at home, by this line to entreat you to put no stopp in the way of these Men that are and have been my followers upon your ground.

Madam, your compliance in this will very much oblige,

Your most humble Servant,

L. MACKINTOSHE.

14th September, 1715.

P. S. Madam, if what I demand will not be granted I hope I'll be excused to be in my duty.

Culloden Papers, p. 38, No. XLIX.

joined by the marquis of Huntly at the head of five hundred horse, and two thousand foot, chiefly Gordons; and on the tenth by the Earl Marischal with three hundred horse, among whom were many gentlemen, and five hundred foot. These different accessions increased Mar's army to upwards of eight thousand men.

Mar ought now to have instantly opened the campaign by advancing upon Stirling, and attacking the duke of Argyle, whose forces did not, at this time, amount to two thousand men. In his rear he had nothing to dread, as the earl of Seaforth, who was advancing to join him with a body of three thousand foot and six hundred horse, had left a division of two thousand of his men behind him to keep the earl of Sutherland, and the other friends of the government in the northern highlands, in check. As the whole of the towns on the eastern coast from Burntisland to Inverness were in possession of his detachments, and as there was not a single hostile party along the whole of that extensive stretch, no obstacle could have occurred, had he marched south, to prevent him from obtaining a regular supply of provisions for his army and such warlike stores as might reach any of these ports from France. One French vessel had already safely landed a supply of arms and ammunition in a northern port, and another during Mar's stay at Perth boldly sailed up the Frith of Forth, in presence of some English ships of war, and entered the harbour of Burntisland with a fresh supply. But though personally brave, Mar was deficient in military genius, and was altogether devoid of that decisive promptitude of action by which Montrose and Dundee were distinguished. Instead, therefore, of attempting at once to strike a decisive blow at Argyle, the insurgent general lingered at Perth upwards of a month. This error, however, might have been repaired had he not committed a more fatal one by detaching a considerable part of his army, including the Macintoshes, who were the best armed of his forces, at the solicitation of a few English Jacobites, who, having taken up arms in the north of England, craved his support.

About the period of Mar's departure for Scotland, the government had obtained information of a dangerous conspiracy in England in favour of the Chevalier, in consequence of which the titular duke of Powis was committed to the Tower, and Lords Lansdown and Duplin were arrested, as implicated in the conspiracy, and a warrant was issued for the apprehension of the earl of Jersey. At the same time, a message from the king was sent to the house of commons, informing them that his majesty had given orders for the apprehension of Sir William Wyndham, Mr Thomas Forster, junior, member for the county of Northumberland, and other members of the lower house, as being engaged in a design to support an invasion of the kingdom. Sir William Wyndham was accordingly apprehended, and committed to the Tower, but Mr Forster having been apprised of the arrival of a messenger at Durham with the warrant for his apprehension, avoided him, and joined

the earl of Derwentwater, a young Catholic nobleman, against whom a similar warrant had been issued. Tired of shifting from place to place, they convened a meeting of their friends in Northumberland to consult as to the course they should pursue, at which it was resolved immediately to take up arms in support of the Chevalier. In pursuance of a resolution entered into, about sixty horsemen, mostly gentlemen, and some attendants, met on Thursday the sixth of October, at a place called Greenrig, whence, after some consultation, they marched to Plainfield, a place on the river Coquet, where they were joined by a few adherents. From Plainfield they departed for Rothbury, a small market town, where they took up their quarters for the night.

Next morning, their numbers still increasing, they advanced to Warkworth, where they were joined by Lord Widdrington, with thirty horse, on the following day. Mr Forster was now appointed to the command of this force, not on account of his military abilities, for he had none, but because he was a Protestant, and therefore less objectionable to the high-church party than the earl of Derwentwater, who, in the absence of a regularly bred commander, should, on account of his rank, have been named to the chief command. On Sunday morning, Mr Forster sent Mr Buxton, a clergyman of Derbyshire, who acted as chaplain to the insurgent party, to the parson of Warkworth, with orders to pray for the Chevalier by name as king, and to introduce into the Litany the name of Mary, the queen-mother, and all the dutiful branches of the royal family, and omit the names of king George, and the prince and princess. The minister of the parish wisely declined to obey these orders, and for his own safety retired to Newcastle. The parishioners, however, were not deprived of divine service, as Mr Buxton, on the refusal of the parson to officiate as directed, entered the church, and performed in his stead with considerable effect.*

On Monday the tenth of October, Mr Forster was joined by forty horse from the Scottish border, on which day he openly proclaimed the Chevalier with sound of trumpet, and such other formalities as circumstances would admit of. This small party remained at Warkworth till the fourteenth, when they proceeded to Alnwick, where they were joined by many of their friends, and thence marched to Morpeth. At Felton bridge they were reinforced by another party of Scottish horse to the number of seventy, chiefly gentlemen from the border, so that on entering Morpeth their force amounted to three hundred horse. In the course of his march Forster had numerous offers of service from the country people, which, however, he was obliged to decline from the want of arms; but he promised to avail himself of them as soon as he

* "Buxton's sermon gave mighty encouragement to the hearers, being full of exhortations, flourishing arguments, and cunning insinuations, to be hearty and zealous in the cause; for he was a man of a very comely personage, and could humour his discourse to induce his hearers to believe what he preached, having very good natural parts, and being pretty well read."—*Patten*, p. 29.

had provided himself with arms and ammunition, which he expected to find in Newcastle, whither he intended to proceed.

In connexion with these movements, Launeelot Errington, a Newcastle shipmaster, undertook to surprise Holy Island, which was guarded by a few soldiers, exchanged weekly from the garrison of Berwick. In a military point of view, the possession of such an insignificant post was of little importance, but it was considered by the Jacobites as useful for making signals to such French vessels as might appear off the Northumberland coast with supplies for the insurgents. Errington, it appears, was known to the garrison, as he had been in the habit of visiting the island on business; and having arrived off the island on the tenth of October, he was allowed to enter the port, no suspicions being entertained of his design. Pursuant to the plan he had formed for surprising the castle, he invited the greater part of the garrison to visit his vessel, and having got them on board, he and the party which accompanied him left the vessel, and took possession of the castle without opposition. Errington endeavoured to apprise his friends at Warkworth of his success by signals, but these were not observed, and the place was retaken the following day by a detachment of thirty men from the garrison of Berwick, and a party of fifty of the inhabitants of the town, who, crossing the sands at low water, entered the island, and carried the fort sword in hand. Errington, in attempting to escape, received a shot in the thigh, and being captured, was carried prisoner to Berwick; whence he had the good fortune to make his escape in disguise.*

The possession of Newcastle, where the Jacobite interest was very powerful, was the first object of the Northumberland insurgents; but they were frustrated in their design by the vigilance of the magistrates. Having first secured all suspected persons, they walled up all the gates with stone and lime, except the Brampton gate on which they placed two pieces of cannon. An association of the well-affected inhabitants was formed for the defence of the town, and the churchmen and dissenters, laying aside their antipathies for a time, enrolled themselves as volunteers. Seven hundred of these were immediately armed by the magistrates. The keelmen also, who were chiefly dissenters, offered to furnish a similar number of men to defend that town; but their services were not required, as two successive reinforcements of regular troops from Yorkshire entered the town on the ninth and twelfth of October. When the insurgents received intelligence of the state of affairs at Newcastle, they retired to Hexham, having a few days before sent an express to the earl of Mar for a reinforcement of foot.

The news of the rising under Mr Forster, having been communicated to the marquis of Tweeddale, Lord Lieutenant of East Lothian or Haddingtonshire, in letters from Berwick, his lordship called a meeting of his deputy lieutenants at Haddington early in October, and at the same

* Patten, p. 31, 32.—*Annals of George I.*, p. 74, 75.—Rae, p. 241, 242.

time issued instructions to them to put the laws in execution against "papists" and other suspected persons, by binding them over to keep the peace, and by seizing their arms and horses in terms of a late act of parliament. In pursuance of this order, Mr Hepburn of Humble, and Doctor Sinclair of Hermandston, two of the deputy lieutenants, resolved to go the morning after the instructions were issued, to the house of Mr Hepburn of Keith, a zealous Jacobite, against whom they appear to have entertained hostile feelings. Dr Sinclair accordingly appeared next morning with a party of armed men at the place where Hepburn of Humble had agreed to meet him; but as the latter did not appear at the appointed hour, the doctor proceeded towards Keith with his attendants. On their way to Keith, Hepburn enjoined his party, in case of resistance, not to fire till they should be first fired at by Mr Hepburn of Keith or his party; and on arriving near the house he reiterated these instructions. When the arrival of Sinclair and his party was announced to Mr Hepburn of Keith, the latter at once suspecting the cause, immediately demanded inspection of the doctor's orders. Sinclair, thereupon, sent forward a servant with the marquis of Tweeddale's commission, who, finding the gates shut, offered to show the commission to Hepburn at the dining room window. On being informed of the nature of the commission, Hepburn signified the utmost contempt at it, and furiously exclaiming, "God damn the doctor and the marquis both," disappeared. The servant thinking that Mr Hepburn had retired for a time to consult with his friends before inspecting the commission, remained before the inner gate waiting for his return. But instead of coming back to receive the commission, Hepburn and his friends immediately mounted their horses, and whilst his daughters, who seem to have partaken of the Jacobite fervour of their father, were calling out to one another that they should soon see very fine sport, old Keith, after ordering the gates to be thrown open, sallied out with his company, and instantly discharging a pistol at the servant, which wounded him in two places, he rode up to the doctor who was standing near the outer gate, and after firing another pistol at him, attacked him sword in hand and wounded him in the head. Sinclair's party, in terms of their instructions, immediately returned the fire, and Mr Hepburn's younger son was unfortunately killed on the spot. Hepburn and his party, disconcerted by this event, instantly galloped off towards the Borders and joined the Jacobite standard. The death of young Hepburn, who was the first person who fell in the insurrection of seventeen hundred and fifteen, highly incensed the Jacobites, who longed for an opportunity, which was soon afforded them, of punishing its author, Dr Sinclair.*

Whilst Mr Forster was thus employed in Northumberland, the earl of Kenmure, who had received a commission from the earl of Mar to

* Rae, p. 243—245.

raise the Jacobites in the south of Scotland, was assembling his friends on the Scottish border. Early in October he had held private meetings with some of them, at which it had been resolved to make an attempt upon Dumfries, which they expected to surprise before the friends of the government there should be aware of their design; but the magistrates were put on their guard on the eighth of October by a letter from Locherbridge Hill, on which day also Cockburn, the lord-justice-clerk, sent an express to the provost of the town with similar intelligence. Lord Kenmure first appeared in arms, at the head of one hundred and fifty horse, on the eleventh of October at Moffat, where he proclaimed the Chevalier, on the evening of which day he was joined by the earl of Wintoun and fourteen attendants. Next day he proceeded to Lochmaben, where he also proclaimed "the Pretender." Alarmed at his approach, the magistrates of Dumfries ordered the drums to beat to arms, and for several days the town exhibited a scene of activity and military bustle perfectly ludicrous, when the trifling force with which it was threatened is considered. Kenmure advanced within two miles of the town, but being informed of the preparations which had been made to receive him, he returned to Lochmaben. He thereupon marched to Ecclefechan, where he was joined by Sir Patrick Maxwell of Springkell, with fourteen horsemen, and thence to Langholm, and afterwards to Hawick, where he proclaimed the Chevalier. On the seventeenth of October, Kenmure marched to Jedburgh, with the intention of proceeding to Kelso, and there also proclaimed the prince; but learning that Kelso was protected by a party under the command of Sir William Bennet of Grubbet, he crossed the Border with the design of forming a junction with Forster.*

We must now direct attention to the measures taken by the earl of Mar in compliance with the request of Mr Forster and his friends to send them a body of foot. As Mar had not resolution to attempt the passage of the Forth, which, with the forces under his command, he could have easily effected, he had no other way of reinforcing the English Jacobites, than by attempting to transport a part of his army across the Frith of Forth. As there were several English men-of-war in the Frith, the idea of sending a body of two thousand men across such an extensive arm of the sea appeared chimerical; yet, nevertheless, Mar resolved upon this bold and hazardous attempt.

To command this adventurous expedition, the Jacobite general pitched upon Old Borlum, as Brigadier Mackintosh was familiarly called, who readily undertook, with the assistance of the earl of Panmure, and other able officers, to perform a task which few men, even of experience, would have undertaken without a grudge. For this hazardous service, a picked body of two thousand men were selected, consisting of the whole of the Mackintoshes, and the greater part of Mar's own regi-

* Rac. Faithful Register of the late Rebellion. London, 1718.

ment, and of the regiments of the earl of Strathmore, Lord Nairne, Lord Charles Murray, and Drummond of Logie-Drummond. To avoid the men-of-war, which were stationed between Leith and Burntisland, it was arranged that the expedition should embark at Crail, Pittenweem, and Ely, three small towns near the mouth of the Frith, whither the troops were to proceed with the utmost secrecy and expedition by the most unfrequented ways through the interior of Fife. At same time, to amuse the ships of war, it was concerted that another select body of five hundred men should openly march across the country to Burntisland, seize upon the boats in the harbour, and make preparations as if they intended to cross the Frith. With remarkable foresight, Mar gave orders that the expedition should embark with the flowing of the tide, that in case of detection, the ships of war should be obstructed by it in their pursuit down the Frith.

Accordingly, on the ninth or tenth of October, both detachments, consisting of two thousand five hundred men, left Perth escorted by a body of horse under the command of Sir John Areskine of Alva, the master of Sinclair, and Sir James Sharp, grandson of Archbishop Sharp of St Andrews, and whilst the main body proceeded in a south-easterly direction, through the district of Fife bordering upon the Tay, so as to pass unobserved by the men-of-war, the other division marched directly across the country down to Burntisland, where they made a feint as if preparing to embark in presence of the ships of war, which then lay at anchor in Leith Roads. When the commanders of these vessels observed the motions of the insurgents, they manned their boats and despatched them across to attack them should they venture out to sea, and slipping their cables they stood over with their vessels to the Fife shore to support their boats. As the boats and ships approached, the insurgents, who had already partly embarked, returned on shore; and those on land proceeded to erect a battery, as if for the purpose of covering the embarkation. An interchange of shots then took place without damage on either side, till night put an end to hostilities. In the meantime, Brigadier Mackintosh had arrived at the different stations fixed for his embarkation, at the distance of nearly twenty miles from the ships of war, and was actively engaged in shipping his men in boats which had been previously secured for their reception by his friends in these quarters. The first division crossed the same night, being Wednesday the twelfth of October, and the second followed next morning. When almost half across the channel, which, between the place of embarkation and the opposite coast, is about sixteen or seventeen miles broad, the fleet of boats was descried from the topmasts of the men-of-war, and the commanders then perceived, for the first time, the deception which had been so successfully practised upon them by the detachment at Burntisland. Unfortunately, at the time they made this discovery, both wind and tide were against them; but they sent out their boats fully manned, which succeeded,

however, in capturing only two boats with forty men, who were carried into Leith, and committed to jail. As soon as the tide changed, the men-of-war proceeded down the Frith, in pursuit, but they came too late, and the whole boats, with the exception of eight, (which being far behind, took refuge in the isle of May, to avoid capture,) reached the opposite coast in perfect safety, and disembarked their men at Gullan, North Berwick, Aberlady, and places adjacent. The number carried over amounted to about sixteen hundred. Those who were driven into the isle of May, amounting to two hundred, after remaining therein a day or two, regained the Fife coast, and returned to the camp at Perth.*

The news of Mackintosh's landing occasioned a dreadful consternation at Edinburgh, where the friends of the government, astonished at the boldness of the enterprise, and the extraordinary success which had attended it, at once conjectured that the brigadier would march directly upon the capital, where he had many friends, and from which he was only sixteen miles distant. As the city was at this time wholly unprovided with the means of defence, Campbell, the provost, a warm partizan of the government, adopted the most active measures for putting it in a defensive state. The well affected among the citizens formed themselves into a body for its defence, under the name of the Associate Volunteers, and these, with the city guards and trained bands, had different posts assigned them, which they guarded with great care and vigilance. Even the ministers of the city, to show an example to the lay citizens, joined the ranks of the armed volunteers. The provost, at same time, sent an express to the duke of Argyle, requesting him to send, without delay, a detachment of regular troops to support the citizens.

After the brigadier had mustered his men on landing, he marched to Haddington, in which he took up his quarters for the night to refresh his troops, and wait for the remainder of his detachment, which he expected would follow. According to Mackintosh's instructions, he should have marched directly for England, to join the insurgents in Northumberland, but having received intelligence of the consternation which prevailed at Edinburgh, and urged, it is believed, by pressing solicitations from some of the Jacobite inhabitants to advance upon the capital, he, lured by the eclat which its capture would confer upon his arms, and the obvious advantages which would thence ensue, marched rapidly towards Edinburgh the following morning. He arrived in the evening of the same day, Friday, fourteenth of October, at Jock's Lodge, about a mile from the city, where, being informed of the measures which had been taken to defend it, and that the duke of Argyle was hourly expected from Stirling with a reinforcement, he immediately halted, and called a council of war. After a short consultation, they resolved, in the meantime, to take possession of Leith: Mackintosh, accordingly, turning off his men to the

* Annals of George I. p. 89-91. Patten, p. 8, 9.

right, marched into the town without opposition. He immediately released from jail the forty men who had been taken prisoners by the boats of the men-of-war, and seized a considerable quantity of brandy and provisions, which he found in the custom-house. Thereafter, crossing over the bridge into North Leith, he quartered his men for the night in the citadel which had been built by Oliver Cromwell. This fort, which was of a square form, with four demi-bastions, and surrounded by a large dry ditch, was now in a very dismantled state, though all the outworks, with the exception of the gates, were entire. Within the walls were several houses, built for the convenience of sea-bathing, and which served the new occupants in lieu of barracks. To supply the want of gates, Mackintosh formed barricades of beams, planks, and of carts filled with earth and stone and other materials, and seizing six or eight pieces of cannon which he found in some vessels in the harbour, he planted two of them at the north end of the draw-bridge, and the remainder upon the ramparts of the citadel. Within a few hours, therefore, after he had entered Leith, Mackintosh was fully prepared to withstand a siege, should the duke of Argyle venture to attack him.

Whilst Mackintosh was in full march upon the capital from the east, the duke of Argyle was advancing upon it with greater rapidity from the west, at the head of four hundred dragoons and two hundred foot, mounted, for the sake of greater expedition, upon farm-horses. He entered the city by the west port about ten o'clock at night, and was joined by the horse militia of Lothian and the Merse with a good many volunteers, both horse and foot, who, with the marquis of Tweeddale, the Lord Belhaven, and others, had retired into Edinburgh on the approach of the insurgents. These, with the addition of the city guard and volunteers, increased his force to nearly twelve hundred men. With this body the duke marched down towards Leith next morning, Saturday, fifteenth of October; but before he reached the town many of the "brave gentlemen volunteers,"* whose courage had waxed cold while contemplating the probable consequences of encountering in deadly strife the determined band to which they were to be opposed, slunk out of the ranks and retired to their homes. On arriving near the citadel, Argyle posted the dragoons and foot on opposite sides, and along with Generals Evans and Wightman, proceeded to reconnoitre the fort on the sea side. Thereafter, he sent in a summons to the citadel requiring the rebels to surrender under the pain of high treason, and declaring that if they obliged him to employ cannon to force them, and killed any of his men in resisting him, he would give them no quarter. To this message the laird of Kynnachin, a gentleman of Athole, returned this resolute answer, that as to surrendering they did not understand the word, which could therefore only excite laughter—that if his grace thought he was able to make an assault, he might try, but he would find that they were

fully prepared to meet it ; and as to quarter they were resolved, in case of attack, neither to take nor to give any.

This answer was followed by a discharge from the cannon on the ramparts, the balls from which grazing among the horses' feet, made Argyle soon perceive the mistake he had committed in advancing without cannon, of which he had not taken down with him a single piece. Had his force been equal and even numerically superior to that of Mackintosh, he could not have ventured without almost certain destruction, to have carried the citadel sword in hand, as he found that before his men could reach the foot of the wall or the barricaded positions, they would probably have been exposed to five fires from the besieged, which, at a moderate computation, would have cut off one half of his men. His cavalry, besides, on account of the nature of the ground, could have been of little use in an assault ; and as, under such circumstances, an attack was considered impracticable, the duke retired to Edinburgh in the evening to make the necessary preparations for a siege. While deliberating on the expediency of making an attack, some of the volunteers appeared to be very zealous for it, but on being informed that it belonged to them as volunteers to lead the way, they became extremely pacific, and heartily approved of the duke's proposal to defer the attempt till a more seasonable opportunity.*

Had the earl of Mar been apprized in due time of Mackintosh's advance upon Edinburgh, and of the duke of Argyle's departure from Stirling, he would probably have marched towards Stirling, and might have crossed the Forth above the bridge of Stirling, without any very serious opposition from the small force stationed in the neighbourhood ; but he received the intelligence of the brigadier's movement too late to make it available, had he been inclined ; and it appears that he had resolved not to cross the Forth till joined by General Gordon's detachment.† The earl considered the march from Haddington to Leith "an unlucky mistake ;"‡ but he had really no cause to complain.

On returning to Edinburgh, the duke of Argyle gave orders for the removal of some pieces of cannon from the castle to Leith, with the intention of making an assault upon the citadel the following morning with the whole of his force, including the dragoons, which he had resolved to dismount for the occasion. But he was saved the necessity of such a hazardous attempt by the insurgents evacuating the place the same night. Old Borlum, seeing no chance of obtaining possession of Edinburgh, and considering that the occupation of the citadel, even if tenable, was not of sufficient importance to employ such a large body of men in its defence, had resolved, shortly after the departure of the duke, to abandon the place, and to retrace his steps without delay, and with all the secrecy in his power. Two hours before his departure, he

* Rae, p. 263.

† Letter to Mr Forster, 21st October, 1715.

‡ Letter from

Mar to Viscount Kenmore, dated from the camp at Perth, October 21, 1715.

sent a boat across the Frith with despatches to the earl of Mar, giving him a detail of his proceedings since his landing, and informing him of his intention to retire. To deceive the men-of-war which lay at anchor in the Roads, he caused several shots to be fired at the boat which carried the despatches after her departure from the harbour, which had the desired effect, as the officers in command of the ships, thinking the boat had some friends of the government on board, allowed her to pursue her course without obstruction.

At nine o'clock at night, every thing being in readiness, Mackintosh, favoured by the darkness of the night and low water, left the citadel secretly, and pursuing his course along the beach, crossed, without observation, the small rivulet, which runs through the harbour at low water, and which was then about knee deep, and passing the point of the pier, pursued his route south-eastward along the sands of Leith. At his departure, Mackintosh was obliged to leave about forty men behind him, who having made too free with the brandy which had been found in the custom-house, were not in a condition to march. These, with some stragglers who lagged behind, were afterwards taken prisoners by a detachment of Argyle's forces, which also captured some baggage and ammunition.

On arriving near Musselburgh, the insurgents were fired upon by some persons on horseback from the adjoining end of the town, but without receiving any injury. This circumstance, as it made the Highlanders look upon every horseman as an enemy, was productive of a melancholy accident, which befel Alexander Malloch of Mutrieshill, who had just joined the rebels. This gentleman, while riding on horseback, was challenged by a Highlander in Gaelic, and being unable to answer him, was instantly shot dead upon the spot by the interrogator. Mackintosh, who could not fail to feel grieved at this unfortunate accident, was in too great haste to spend time in the rites of sepulture, and thinking probably that the money about the person of the deceased was in better keeping with him than with any friend of the government, he appropriated about sixty guineas, which he found in the pockets of the deceased, and left the corpse behind. A similar accident occurred after they had advanced a mile from Musselburgh, where, alarmed by some firing in front, a rear party fired upon the front and killed a sergeant belonging to Mar's regiment, and a common soldier.

The Highlanders continued their march during the night, and arrived at two o'clock in the morning of Sunday, the sixteenth of October, at Seaton-House, the seat of the earl of Wintoun, who had already joined the Viscount Kenmure, where, during the day, they were joined by a small party of their friends, who had crossed the Frith some time after the body which marched to Leith had landed, and who, from having disembarked farther to the eastward, had not been able to reach their companions before their departure for the capital. As soon as the duke of Argyle heard of Mackintosh's retreat, and that he had taken up a

position in Seaton-House, which was encompassed by a very strong and high stone wall, he resolved to follow him and besiege him in his new quarters. To work some cannon and mortars which he intended to remove from the castle of Edinburgh, he sent an express to Stirling for some gunners and bombardiers, and, in the meantime, despatched a detachment of dragoons, and a body of volunteer horse to reconnoitre the enemy and watch their motions. But the duke of Argyle was prevented from carrying his design against Seaton-house into execution, by receiving intelligence that Mar was advancing upon Stirling with the intention of crossing the Forth.

Being apprized, by the receipt of Mackintosh's despatch from Leith, of the Brigadier's design to march to the south, Mar had resolved, with the view principally of facilitating his retreat from Leith, to make a movement upon Stirling, and thereby induce the duke of Argyle to return to the camp in the Park with the troops which he had carried to Edinburgh. Mar, accordingly, left Perth on Monday the seventeenth of October, and General Whitham, the commander of the royalist forces at Stirling in Argyle's absence, having on the previous day received notice of Mar's intention, immediately sent an express to the duke begging him to return to Stirling immediately, and bring back the forces he had taken with him to Edinburgh. The express reached Edinburgh at an early hour on Monday morning, and the duke, abandoning his design upon Seaton-house, left Edinburgh for Stirling about noon on Monday, leaving behind him only a hundred dragoons and one hundred and fifty foot under General Wightman. The duke arrived at Stirling about eight o'clock at night, and was informed that Mar was to be at Dunblane next morning with his whole army, amounting to nearly ten thousand men.*

The arrival of his Grace was most opportune, for Mar had in fact advanced the same evening, with all his horse, to Dunblane, little more than six miles from Stirling, and his foot were only a short way off from the latter place. Whether Mar would have really attempted the passage of the Forth but for the intelligence he received next morning, is very problematical; but having been informed early on Tuesday of the duke's return, and of the arrival of Evans's regiment of dragoons from Ireland, he resolved to return to Perth. In a letter which he wrote to Mr Forster from Perth on the twenty-first of October, after alluding to the information he had received, he gives as an additional reason for this determination, that he had left Perth before provisions could be got ready for his army, and that he found all the country about Stirling, where he meant to pass the Forth, so entirely exhausted by the enemy that he could find nothing to subsist upon. Besides, from a letter he had received from General Gordon, he found the latter could not possibly join him that week, and he could not think

* Annals of George I. p. 98. Patten, p. 18. Rae, p. 265.

of passing the Forth, under the circumstances detailed, till joined by him. Under these difficulties, and having accomplished one of the objects of his march, by withdrawing the duke of Argyle from the pursuit of his friends in Lothian, he had thought fit, he observes, to march back from Dunblane to Auchterarder, and thence back to Perth, there to wait for Gordon and the earl of Seaforth, where he had accordingly arrived on the preceding night.

Mackintosh, in expectation probably of an answer to his despatch from Leith, appeared to be in no hurry to leave Seaton-house, where his men fared sumptuously upon the best which the neighbourhood could afford. As all communication was cut off between him and the capital by the hundred dragoons which Argyle had left behind, and a party of three hundred gentlemen-volunteers under the command of the earl of Rothes, who patrolled in the neighbourhood of Seaton-house, Mackintosh was in complete ignorance of Argyle's departure from the capital, and of Mar's march. This was fortunate, as it seems probable that had the Brigadier been aware of these circumstances, he would have again advanced upon the capital and might have captured it. During the three days that Mackintosh lay in Seaton-house, no attempt was, of course, made to dislodge him from his position, but he was subjected to some petty annoyances by the volunteers and dragoons, between whom and the Highlanders some occasional shots were interchanged without damage on either side. Having deviated from the line of instructions, Mackintosh appears to have been anxious, before proceeding south, to receive from Mar such new or additional directions as a change of circumstances might require. Mar lost no time in replying to Borlum's communication, and on Tuesday the eighteenth of October a boat was descried from Seaton-house making its way across the Frith from the Fife coast. This boat had attracted the notice of the commanders of the men-of-war, who rightly suspecting its destination, kept up a fire at her, but by keeping far to windward, she escaped and arrived safe at the small harbour of Port-Seaton. This boat, the same that carried over Mackintosh's despatch, brought an answer from Mar, desiring him to march immediately towards England and form a junction near the borders with the English Jacobite forces under Mr Forster, and those of the south of Scotland under Lord Kenmure. On the same day, Mackintosh received a despatch from Mr Forster, requesting him to meet him without delay at Kelso or Coldstream.*

To give effect to these instructions, Mackintosh left Seaton-house next morning, and proceeded across the country towards Longformachus, which he reached that night. Doctor Sinclair, the proprietor of Hermandston-house, had incurred the Brigadier's displeasure by his treatment of the laird of Keith, to revenge which he threatened to burn

* Patten, p. 20.

Sinclair's mansion in passing it on his way south, but he was prevented from carrying his threat into execution by the entreaties of Mr Miller of Mugdrum, major of his regiment, and Mr Menzies of Woodend. He, however, ordered his soldiers to plunder the house, a mandate which they obeyed with the utmost alacrity. When Major-General Wightman heard of Mackintosh's departure, he marched from Edinburgh with some dragoons, militia and volunteers, and took possession of Seaton-house. After demolishing the wall which surrounded it, he returned to Edinburgh in the evening, carrying along with him some Highlanders who had lagged behind or deserted from Mackintosh on his march.*

Mackintosh took up his quarters at Longformachus during the night, and continued his march next morning to Dunse, where he arrived during the day and proclaimed the Chevalier. Here Mackintosh halted two days, and on the morning of Saturday, the twenty-second of October, set out on his march to Kelso, the appointed place of rendezvous, whither the Northumbrian forces under Forster were marching the same day. Sir William Bennet of Grubbet and his friends hearing of the approach of these two bodies, left the town the preceding night, and, after dismissing their followers, retired to Edinburgh. The united forces of Forster and Kenmure entered Kelso about one o'clock on Saturday. The Highlanders had not then arrived, but hearing that they were not far off, the Scottish cavalry, to mark their respect for the bravery the Highlanders had shown in crossing the Frith, marched out as far as Ednam bridge to meet them, and accompanied them into the town about three o'clock in the afternoon, amidst the martial sounds of bagpipes. The forces under Mackintosh now amounted to fourteen hundred foot and six hundred horse; but a third of the latter consisted of menial servants.

The following day, being Sunday, was entirely devoted by the Jacobites to religious duties. Patten the historian of the insurrection, an episcopal minister and one of their chaplains, in terms of instructions from Lord Kenmure, who had the command of the troops while in Scotland, preached in the morning in the Great church of Kelso, formerly the abbey of David the First, to a mixed congregation of catholics, presbyterians and episcopalians, from Deuteronomy xxi. 17. "The right of the first-born is his."† The prayers on this occasion were read by Mr Buxton, formerly alluded to. In the afternoon Mr William Irvine, an old Scottish episcopalian minister, chaplain to the earl of Carnwath, read prayers and delivered a sermon full of exhortations to his hearers to be zealous and steady in the cause of the Cheva-

* Patten, p. 20. Annals of George I. p. 101.

† "All the lords that were protestants, with a vast multitude of people, attended: It was very agreeable to see how decently and reverently the very common Highlanders behaved, and answered the responses according to the Rubrick, to the shame of many that pretend to more polite breeding."—Patten, p. 40.

lier. This discourse, he afterwards told his colleague, Mr Patten, he had formerly preached in the Highlands about twenty six years before in presence of Lord Viscount Dundee and his army.

Next morning the Highlanders were drawn up in the church-yard, and thence marched to the market-cross with colours flying, drums beating, and bagpipes playing. They there formed a circle round the lords and gentlemen. Within this circle another was formed of the gentlemen volunteers. Silence being enjoined, and a trumpet sounded, Seaton of Barnes, who claimed the vacant title of earl of Dunfermline, read a proclamation, declaring the Chevalier, as James VIII. lawful king over Scotland, England, and Ireland. After finishing the proclamation, he read the manifesto quoted in the conclusion of last chapter, at the end of which the people with loud acclamations shouted, "No union! no malt-tax! no salt-tax." When this ceremony was over, the Highlanders returned to their quarters.*

The insurgents remained three days in Kelso, which were chiefly occupied in searching for arms and plundering the houses of some of the loyalists in the neighbourhood. They took possession of some pieces of cannon which had been brought by Sir William Bennet from Hume Castle for the defence of the town, and which had formerly been employed to protect that ancient strong-hold against the attacks of the English. They also seized some broad swords which they found in the church, and a small quantity of gunpowder. Whilst at Kelso, Mackintosh seized the public revenue, as was his uniform custom in every town through which he passed.

During their stay at Kelso, the insurgents seem to have come to no determination as to future operations; but the arrival of General Carpenter with three regiments of dragoons, and a regiment of foot, at Wooler, forced them to resolve upon something decisive. Lord Kenmure, thereupon, called a council of war to deliberate upon the course to be pursued. According to the opinions of the principal officers, there were three ways of proceeding. The first, which was strongly urged by the earl of Wintoun, was to march into the west of Scotland, to reduce Dumfries and Glasgow, and thereafter to form a junction with the western clans, under General Gordon, to open a communication with the earl of Mar, and threaten the duke of Argyle's rear. The second was to give battle immediately to General Carpenter, who had scarcely a thousand men under him, the greater part of whom consisted of newly raised levies, who had never seen any service. This plan was supported by Mackintosh, who was so intent upon it, that, sticking his pike in the ground, he declared that he would not stir, but would wait for General Carpenter and fight him, as he was sure there would be no difficulty in beating him. The last plan, which was that of the Northumberland gentlemen, was to march directly

* Patten, p. 49.

through Cumberland and Westmoreland into Lancashire, where the Jacobite interest was very powerful, and where they expected to be joined by great numbers of the people. Old Borlum was strongly opposed to this view, and pointed out the risk which they would run, if met by an opposing force, which they might calculate upon, while General Carpenter was left in their rear. He contended, that if they succeeded in defeating Carpenter, they would soon be able to fight any other troops,—that if Carpenter should beat them, they had already advanced far enough, and that they would be better able, in the event of a reverse, to shift for themselves in Scotland than in England.*

Either of the two first-mentioned plans was far preferable to the last, even had the troops been disposed to adopt it; but the aversion of the Highlanders, from different considerations, to a campaign in England, was almost insuperable; and nothing could mark more strongly the fatuity of the Northumberland Jacobites, than to insist, under these circumstances, upon marching into England. But they pertinaciously adhered to their opinion, and, by doing so, may be truly said to have ruined the cause which they had combined to support. As the comparatively small body of troops under Argyle was the only force in Scotland from which the insurgents had any thing to dread, their whole attention should have been directed in the first place to that body, which could not have withstood the combined attacks of the forces which the rebels had in the field, which amounted to about sixteen thousand men. The duke of Argyle must have been compelled, had the three divisions of the insurgent army made a simultaneous movement upon Stirling, to have hazarded a battle, and the result would very probably have been disastrous to his arms. Had such an event occurred, the insurgents would have immediately become masters of the whole of Scotland, and would soon have been in a condition to have carried the war into England with every hope of success.

Amidst the confusion and perplexity occasioned by these differences of opinion, a sort of medium course was in the mean time resolved upon, till the chiefs of the army should reconcile their divisions. The plan agreed upon was, that they should, to avoid an immediate rencounter with General Carpenter, decamp from Kelso, and proceed along the border in a south-westerly direction towards Jedburgh; and, accordingly, on Thursday the twenty-seventh day of October, the insurgents proceeded on their march. The disagreement which had taken place had cooled their military fervour, and a feeling of dread, at the idea of being attacked by Carpenter's force, soon began to display itself. Twice, on the march to Jedburgh, were they thrown into a state of alarm, by mistaking a party of their own men for the troops of General Carpenter. The mistake being soon discovered, in the first instance, little

* Annals of 2d year of George I. p. 128. Patten, p. 53, 64, 65.

disorder ensued; but the last created much confusion, and strikingly exhibited the effects of fear, even upon resolute minds, when labouring under a temporary depression. The horse preceded the foot, and arrived at Jedburgh when the latter were yet distant two miles from the town. A party of the foot, which had been sent up Tweedside, was observed by their main body, when on the high road between Kelso and Jedburgh, crossing a moor on their right, which being again taken for Carpenter's troops, they sent an express to Jedburgh, requiring the support of the horse. Lord Kenmure, Brigadier Mackintosh, and the other principal officers, were standing together when this message was delivered; but being uttered very indistinctly by the messenger, a gentleman present conceiving that Lord Lumley, who commanded the light horse of Northumberland, had attacked the Highlanders, instantly mounted his horse and galloped through the streets, shouting aloud, "Mount, gentlemen, mount! Lumley is upon the foot cutting them to pieces!" This announcement produced the utmost consternation among the horse, some of whom, from an apprehension of being made prisoners, tore the cockades from their hats, while others absconded and concealed themselves in the most secret places in the town. The greater part, however, mounted their horses, and went out to join the foot; but so alarmed were many even of these, at the idea of encountering the government forces, that, according to one writer,* they wept like children.† If this statement be well founded, these men fully redeemed their character by the gallant defence they afterwards made at Preston.

Instead of advancing upon Jedburgh, as they supposed Carpenter would have done, the insurgents ascertained that he had taken a different direction in entering Scotland, and that from their relative positions, they were considerably in advance of him in the proposed route into England. The English officers thereupon again urged their views in council, and insisted upon them with such earnestness, that Old Borlum was induced, though with great reluctance, and not till after very high words had been exchanged, to yield. Preparatory to crossing the Borders, they despatched one Captain Hunter (who, from following the profession of a horse-stealer on the Borders, was well acquainted with the neighbouring country,) across the hills, to provide quarters for the army in North Tynedale; but he had not proceeded far, when an order was sent after him countermanding his march, in consequence of a mutiny among the Highlanders, who refused to march into England. The English horse, after expostulating with them, threatened to surround

• Rae.

† It is singular that Patten, who was an eye witness, is silent as to this matter. He says, that although the horse were put into the "utmost consternation," they, nevertheless, "not being discouraged so as to abandon their fellows, they all mounted their horses and marched out to relieve their friends." He adds, that on the mistake being discovered, they returned to their quarters "worse frightened than hurt."

them and compel them to march; but Mackintosh informed them that he would not allow his men to be so treated, and the Highlanders themselves despising the threat, gave them to understand that they would resist the attempt.*

The determination, on the part of the Highlanders, not to march into England, staggered the English gentlemen; but as they saw no hopes of inducing their northern allies to enter into their views, they consented to waive their resolution in the meantime, and by mutual consent the army left Jedburgh on the twenty-ninth of October for Hawick, a town on the Scottish side of the border, lying about ten miles south-west from Jedburgh. During their stay at the latter place, the Highlanders were provided with a supply of oatmeal, levied upon the inhabitants, according to their respective abilities, under the inspection of the magistrates. While on the march to Hawick, a fresh mutiny broke out among the Highlanders, who, suspecting that the march to England was still resolved upon, separated themselves from the rest of the army, and going up to the top of a rising ground on Hawick-moor, grounded their arms, declaring, at same time, that although they were determined not to march into England, they were ready to fight the enemy on Scottish ground. Should the chiefs of the army decline to lead them against Carpenter's forces, they proposed, agreeably to the earl of Wintoun's advice, either to march through the west of Scotland and join the clans under General Gordon, by crossing the Forth above Stirling, or to co-operate with the earl of Mar, by falling upon the duke of Argyle's rear, while Mar himself should assail him in front. But the English officers would listen to none of these propositions, and again threatened to surround them with the horse and force them to march. The Highlanders, exasperated at this menace, cocked their pistols, and told their imprudent colleagues that if they were to be made a sacrifice, they would prefer being destroyed in their own country. By the interposition of the earl of Wintoun a reconciliation was effected, and the insurgents resumed their march to Hawick, on the understanding that the Highlanders should not be again required to march into England.†

The insurgents passed the night at Hawick, during which the courage of the Highlanders was put to the test, by the appearance of a party of horse, which was observed patrolling in their front by their advanced posts. On the alarm being given, the Highlanders immediately flew to arms, and forming themselves in very good order by moonlight, waited with firmness the expected attack; but the affair turned out a false alarm, purposely got up, it is believed, by the English commanders, to try how the Highlanders would conduct themselves, should an enemy appear.‡ At Hawick a quantity of cockades, consisting of blue and

Annals of the 2d year of George I. p. 128. † Patten, p. 67, 68. Rae, p. 271, 272.

‡ Patten, p. 69.

white ribbons, was made for the Scotch, to distinguish them from the English insurgents, who wore red and white cockades.* Next morning, being Sunday, the thirtieth of October, the rebels marched from Hawick to Langholm, about which time General Carpenter entered Jedburgh. They arrived at Langholm in the evening, and with the view, it is supposed, of attacking Dumfries, they sent forward to Ecclefechan, during the night, a detachment of four hundred horse, under the earl of Carnwath, for the purpose of blocking up Dumfries till the foot should come up. This detachment arrived at Ecclefechan before day-light, and, after a short halt, proceeded in the direction of Dumfries; but they had not advanced far, when they were met by an express from some of their friends at Dumfries, informing them that great preparations had been made for the defence of the town. The earl of Carnwath immediately forwarded the express to Langholm, and, in the mean time, halted his men on Blacket-ridge, a moor in the neighbourhood of Ecclefechan, till further orders. The express was met by the main body of the army about two miles west from Langholm, on its march to Dumfries.

The intelligence thus conveyed, immediately created another schism in the army. The English, who had been prevailed upon, from the advantages held out to the Jacobite cause by the capture of such an important post as Dumfries, to accede to the proposal for attacking it, now resumed their original intention of marching into England. The Highlanders, on the other hand, insisted upon marching instantly upon Dumfries, which they alleged might be easily taken, as there were no regular forces in it. It was in vain that the advocates of this plan urged upon the English the advantages to be derived from the possession of a place so convenient as Dumfries was, for receiving succours from France and Ireland, and for keeping up a communication with England and their friends in the west of Scotland. It was to no purpose they were assured, that there were a great many arms and a good supply of powder in the town, which they might secure, and that the duke of Argyle, whom they appeared to dread, was in no condition to injure them, as he had scarcely two thousand men under him, and was in daily expectation of being attacked by the earl of Mar, whose forces were then thrice as numerous;—these and similar arguments were entirely thrown away upon men who had already determined at all hazards to adhere to their resolution of carrying the war into England. To induce the Scottish commanders to concur in their views, they pretended that they had received letters from their friends in Lancashire inviting them thither, and assuring them that on their arrival a general insurrection would take place, and that they would be immediately joined by twenty thousand men, and would have money and provisions in abundance. The advantages of a speedy march into England being urged with extreme earnestness by the English officers, all their Scottish associates, with the exception

* Faithful Register of the late Rebellion, p. 127.

of the earl of Wintoun, at last consented to try the chances of war on the soil of England. Even Old Borlum, (who, at the time the parties were discussing the point in dispute, was busily engaged at a distance from the place where the main body had halted restraining a party of the Highlanders from deserting,) yielded to the entreaties of the English officers, and exerted all his influence to induce his men to follow his example. By the aid of great promises and money, the greater part of the Highlanders were prevailed upon to follow the fortunes of their commander, but about five hundred of them marched off in a body to the north. Before they reached Clydesdale, however, they were almost all made prisoners by the country people, and lodged in jail. The earl of Wintoun, who was quite opposed to the measures resolved upon, also went off with his adherents, but being overtaken by a messenger who was despatched after him to remonstrate with him for abandoning his friends, he consented to return, and immediately rejoined the army. When overtaken, he drew up his horse, and, after a momentary pause, as if reflecting on the judgment which posterity would form of his conduct, observed with chivalrous feeling, that history should not have to relate of him that he deserted King James's interest or his country's good, but with a deep presentiment of the danger of the course his associates were about to pursue, he added, "You," addressing the messenger, "or any man shall have liberty to cut these (laying hold of his own ears as he spoke) out of my head, if we do not all repent it."

The insurgents, after spiking two pieces of cannon which they had brought from Kelso, immediately proceeded on their march for England, and entered Longtown in Cumberland the same night, where they were joined by the detachment which had been sent to Eeclefechan the previous night. On the following day, first of November, they marched to Brampton, a small market town in Cumberland, where they proclaimed the Chevalier, and levied the excise duties on malt and ale. Mr Forster now opened a commission which he had lately received from the earl of Mar, appointing him general of the Jacobite forces in England. As the men were greatly fatigued by forced marches, having marched about one hundred miles in five successive days, they took up their quarters at Brampton for the night to refresh themselves. When General Carpenter heard that the insurgents had entered England, he left Jedburgh, and recrossing the hills into Northumberland, threw himself between them and Newcastle, the seizure of which, he erroneously supposed, was the object of their movement.

Next day the insurgents marched towards Penrith, on approaching which they received intelligence that the *posse comitatus* of Cumberland, amounting to nearly fourteen thousand men, headed by the sheriff of the county, and attended by Lord Lonsdale and the bishop of Carlisle, had assembled near Penrith on the line of their march to oppose their advance. Mr, now General Forster, sent forward a party to reconnoitre, but he experienced no trouble from this immense rustic force, which

broke up and dispersed in the utmost confusion on hearing of the approach of the reconnoitering party. Patten, the historian of the rebellion, who had formerly been curate of Penrith, attempted, at the head of a party of horse, to intercept his superior, the bishop of Carlisle, but his lordship escaped. The insurgents captured some horses and a large quantity of arms, and also took several prisoners, who being soon released, expressed their gratitude by shouting, "God save King James and prosper his merciful army."* To impress the inhabitants of Penrith with a favourable idea of their strength and discipline, the insurgents halted upon a moor in the neighbourhood, where they formed themselves in order of battle, and thereafter entered the town in regular marching order. The principal inhabitants, from an apprehension of being plundered, showed great attention to them, in return for which, and the comfortable entertainment which they received, they abstained from doing any act which could give offence. They however raised, according to custom, the excise and other public duties.

Next day the insurgents marched to Appleby, where, as at Penrith, they proclaimed the Chevalier and seized the public revenue. After halting two days at this town, they resumed their march on the fifth of November, and arrived at Kendal, where they took up their quarters for the night. Next morning, being Sunday, they decamped from Kendal, and after a short march reached Kirby Lonsdale, where, after proclaiming the Chevalier, they went to the church in the afternoon, where, in absence of the parson, who had absconded, Mr Patten read prayers. This author relates a singular instance of Jacobite zeal on the part of a gentleman of the name of Guin, or Gwyn, who entered the churches which lay in the route of the army and scratching out the name of King George from the prayer books, substituted that of the Chevalier in its stead, in a manner so closely resembling the print that the alteration could scarcely be perceived.

The insurgents had now marched through two populous counties, but they had obtained the accession of only two gentlemen to their ranks. They would probably have received some additions in Cumberland and Westmoreland, had not precautions been taken by the sheriffs of these counties beforehand to secure the principal Catholics and lodge them in the castle of Carlisle. Despairing of obtaining any considerable accession of force, seventeen gentlemen of Teviotdale had left the army at Appleby, and the Highlanders, who had borne the fatigues of the march with great fortitude, now began to manifest signs of impatience at the disappointment they felt in not being joined by large bodies of men as they were led to expect. Their prospects, however, began to brighten by the arrival of some Lancashire Catholic gentlemen and their servants at Kirby Lonsdale, and by the receipt of intelligence the following day,

* Letter about the Occurrences on the way to, and at Preston. By an Eye Witness, p. 4.

when on their march to Lancaster, that the Jacobites of Lancashire were ready to join them, and that the Chevalier had been proclaimed at Manchester. The Highlanders expressed their joy at this intelligence by giving three cheers.*

The insurgents entered Lancaster without opposition, and instantly marched to the market place, and proclaimed the Chevalier by sound of trumpet, the whole body being drawn up round the cross. After remaining two days at Lancaster, where the Highlanders regaled themselves with claret and brandy found in the custom-house, they took the road to Preston on Wednesday the ninth of November, with the intention of possessing themselves of Warrington bridge and securing Manchester, as preliminary to a descent upon Liverpool. The horse reached Preston at night, two troops of Stanhope's dragoons and part of a militia regiment under Sir Henry Houghton, which were quartered in the town, retiring to Wigan on their approach; but owing to the badness of the road from a heavy rain which had fallen during the day, the foot did not arrive till the following day, when the Chevalier was proclaimed at the cross with the usual formalities. On the march from Lancaster to Preston, and after their arrival there, the insurgents were joined by different parties of gentlemen, chiefly Catholics, with their tenants and servants, to the number of about fifteen hundred in all, by which additions Forster's army was increased to nearly four thousand men.

Forster, who had kept a strict watch upon Carpenter, and of whose movements he received regular accounts daily, was, however, utterly ignorant of the proceedings of a more formidable antagonist, who, he was made to understand by his Lancashire friends, was at too great a distance to prove dangerous. This was General Wills, who had the command in Cheshire, and who was now busily employed in concentrating his forces for the purpose of attacking the rebels. Unfortunately for them, the government had been induced, by the tumults and violences of the high-church party in the west of England during the preceding year, to quarter bodies of troops to keep the disaffected districts in check, which being disposed at Shrewsbury, Chester, Birmingham, Stafford, Wolverhampton, Manchester, and other adjacent places, could be easily assembled together on a short notice. On information being communicated to the government of the invasion of England, General Wills had been directed to collect all the forces he could and to march upon Warrington bridge and Preston, to prevent the advance of the insurgents upon Manchester.

General Wills had, accordingly, made great exertions to fulfil, without delay, the instructions he had received, and hearing that General Carpenter was at Durham, had sent an express to him to march westward; but he was unable to save Preston. When the insurgents entered this

* Patten, p. 89.

town Wills was at Manchester, waiting for the arrival of two regiments of foot and a regiment of dragoons which were within a few days' march of him ; but alarmed lest by delaying his march they might make themselves masters of Warrington bridge and Manchester, by the possession of which they would increase their force and secure many other advantages, he resolved instantly to march upon Preston with such troops as he had. He left Manchester accordingly on Friday the eleventh of November, for Wigan, with four regiments of dragoons, one of horse, and Preston's regiment of foot, formerly known as the Cameronian regiment. He arrived at Wigan in the evening, where he met Stanhope's dragoons and Houghton's militia, who had retired from Preston on the evening of the ninth. In the meantime, the inhabitants of Liverpool anticipating a visit from the insurgents, were actively employed in preparations for its defence. Within three days they threw up a breastwork round that part of the town approachable from the land side, on which they mounted seventy pieces of cannon, and, to prevent the ships in the harbour from falling into the hands of the enemy, they anchored them in the offing.

It was the intention of Forster to have left Preston on the morning of Saturday the twelfth ; but the unexpected arrival of Wills at Wigan, of which he received intelligence on the preceding night, made him alter his design. Forster had been so elated by the addition which his forces had received at Preston, that he affected to believe that Wills would never venture to face him ; but old Mackintosh advised him not to be too confident, as they might soon find it necessary to defend themselves. Forster treated this advice very lightly, but Mackintosh added, " No matter, I tell you man, he (Wills) will attack, and beat us all, if we do not look about us." Thereupon, observing from a window where they stood, a party of the new recruits passing by, the veteran warrior thus contemptuously addressed the inexperienced chief, " Look ye there, Forster, are yon fellows the men ye intend to fight Wills with. Good faith, Sir, an' ye had ten thousand of them, I'd fight them all with a thousand of his dragoons." In fact, a more uncouth and unsoldier-like body had never before appeared in the field, than these Lancashire rustics ; some with rusty swords without muskets, others with muskets without swords, some with fowling-pieces, others with pitchforks, while others were wholly unprovided with weapons of any sort.* Forster now altered his tone ; and if the report of a writer, who says he was an eye-witness, be true, the news of Wills's advance quite unnerved him. Undetermined how to act, he sent the letter conveying the intelligence to Lord Kenmure, and retired to rest. His lordship, with a few of his officers, repaired to Forster's lodgings to consult him, and to their surprise found him in bed, though the night was not far advanced. The council, after some deliberation, resolved to send out a party of

* Annals of 2d year of George I., p. 136.

horse towards Wigan, to watch the motions of the enemy, to secure the pass into the town by Ribble bridge, and to prepare the army for battle.*

About day-break of the twelfth, General Wills commenced his march from Wigan in the following order :—The van consisted of Preston's regiment of foot, and was preceded by an advanced guard of fifty musketeers, and fifty dragoons on foot. The dragoon regiments of Honeywood, Dormer, and Munden, followed in succession. The baggage was placed in the rear under the protection of a party of fifty dragoons. As soon as it was known that Wills was advancing upon Preston, a select body of one hundred well-armed Highlanders, under the command of Farquharson of Invercauld, was posted at Ribble bridge, and Forster himself at the head of a party of horse, crossed the bridge, and advanced to reconnoitre.

The approach to Ribble bridge, which is about half a mile from Preston, is by a deep path between two high banks, and so narrow in some places that scarcely two men can ride abreast. Here it was that Cromwell, in an action with the royalists, was nearly killed by a large fragment of a rock thrown from above, and only escaped by forcing his horse into a quicksand. The possession, therefore, of this pass, was of the utmost importance to the insurgents, as Wills was not in a condition to have forced it, being wholly unprovided with cannon. Nor could he have been more successful in any attempt to pass the river, which was fordable only at a considerable distance above and below the bridge, and might have been rendered impassable in different ways. But the Jacobite general was grossly ignorant of every thing appertaining to the art of war, and in an evil hour ordered the party at the bridge to abandon it, and retire into the town.

General Wills arrived opposite Ribble bridge about one o'clock in the afternoon, and was surprised to find it undefended. Suspecting an ambuscade, he advanced through the way leading to the bridge with great caution, and having cleared the bridge, he marched towards the town. He, at first, supposed that the insurgents had abandoned the town with the intention of returning to Scotland; but he soon ascertained that they still maintained their ground, and were resolved to meet him. Halting, therefore, his men upon a small rising ground near the town, he rode forward with a strong party of horse to take a survey of the position of the insurgents.

During the morning they had been busily employed in raising barricades in the principal streets, and making other preparations for a vigorous defence. The earl of Derwentwater displayed extraordinary activity and zeal on this occasion. He distributed money among the troops, exhorted them to stand firm to their posts, and set them an example by throwing off his coat, and assisting them in raising intrench-

* Letter, &c., by an eye-witness, p. 6.

ments. There were four main barriers erected across the leading streets near the centre of the town, at each of which, with one exception, were planted two pieces of cannon, which had been carried by the insurgents from Lancaster, and beyond these barriers, towards the extremities of the town, others were raised of an inferior description. Behind the barricades bodies of men were posted, as well as in the houses outside the barricades, particularly in those which commanded the entrances into the principal streets. The recent instances of Paris and Brussels have demonstrated how successfully, even an unfortified town may be defended against the assaults of an army, and certainly after the abandonment of Ribble bridge, a more judicious plan of defence could not have been devised by the ablest tactician for meeting the coming exigency; but unfortunately for the insurgents, the future conduct of their leaders did not correspond with these skilful dispositions.

One of the main barriers, of which Brigadier Mackintosh had the command, was a little below the church, the task of supporting whom was devolved upon the gentlemen volunteers, who were drawn up in the churchyard under the command of Viscount Kenmure and the earls of Derwentwater, Nithsdale, and Wintoun. A body of Highlanders, under Lord Charles Murray, third son of the duke of Athole, was posted at another barrier at the end of a lane leading to the fields. Colonel Mackintosh, at the head of the Mackintoshes, was posted at a third barricade called the Windmill barrier, from its adjoining such a structure on the road to Lancaster. At the remaining barrier, which was in the street leading to the Liverpool road, were placed some of the gentlemen volunteers, and a part of the earl of Strathmore's regiment under the command of Major Miller and Mr Douglas.

When the government general had made himself acquainted with the plan of defence adopted by the insurgents, he returned to his main body, and made preparations for an immediate attack. As he had not sufficient forces to make a simultaneous assault upon all the barriers, he resolved to confine himself at first to two only, those commanded by Old Borlum and Colonel Mackintosh, in the streets leading to Wigan and Lancaster respectively, at both ends of the town. For this purpose he divided his troops into three bodies;—the first consisted of Preston's regiment of foot, and two hundred and fifty dismounted dragoons taken in equal proportions from the five dragoon regiments. This division was commanded by Brigadier Honeywood, and was supported by his own regiment of dragoons. The second body consisted of the regiments of Wynn and Dormer, and a squadron of Stanhope's regiment, all of which were dismounted;—the last division, consisting of Pitt's horse and the remainder of Stanhope's regiment, was kept as a reserve for supporting the other divisions as occasion should require, and to prevent the insurgents from escaping over the Ribble.

The action was begun by the division of Honeywood, which, after driving a party of the insurgents from a small barricade at the ex-

tremity of one of the leading streets, entered the town, and attacked the barrier near the church, defended by Brigadier Mackintosh ; but Honeywood's men were unable to make any impression, and after sustaining a galling and destructive fire from the barrier and from the houses on both sides of the street, they were forced to retreat from the street with considerable loss. In this affair Brigadier Honeywood received a contusion in his arm. Some of the officers of Preston's regiment being informed whilst engaged in the street, that the street leading to Wigan was not barricaded, and that the houses on that side were not possessed by the insurgents, Lord Forrester, the lieutenant-colonel, resolved, after Honeywood's division had failed to establish itself in the neighbourhood of the church, to attempt an entrance in that direction. He accordingly drew off his men by a narrow back passage or lane which led into the street in the direction of Wigan, and ordering them to halt till he should personally survey the position of the insurgents, this intrepid officer deliberately rode into the street with his drawn sword in his hand, and amidst a shower of bullets, coolly examined the barrier, and returned to his troops. He then sallied into the street at the head of his men, and whilst with one party he attacked the barrier, another under his direction crossed the street, and took possession of a very high house belonging to Sir Henry Houghton, which overlooked the whole town. In this enterprize many of the assailants fell by the fire of the insurgents who were posted in the adjoining houses. At same time, Forrester's men possessed themselves of another house opposite, which was unoccupied by the insurgents. The possession of these houses was of immense advantage to the government troops, as it was from the firing kept up from them that the insurgents chiefly suffered. A party of fifty Highlanders, under Captain Innes, had been posted in Houghton's house, and another body in the opposite one ; but Brigadier Mackintosh had unfortunately withdrawn both parties contrary to their own wishes, to less important stations.

Forrester's men maintained the struggle with great bravery, but were unsuccessful in every attempt to force the barrier. As the insurgents, from their position in the houses and behind the barricade, were enabled to take deliberate aim, many of their shots took deadly effect, and the gallant Lord Forrester received several wounds ; but although Preston's foot kept up a smart fire, they did little execution among the insurgents, who were protected by the barricade and the houses. Captain Peter Farquharson was the only Jacobite officer who fell in this attack. He received a shot in the leg, and being taken to the White Bull inn, where the wounded were carried, he called for a glass of brandy, and thus addressed his comrades :—" Come lads, here is our master's health ; though I can do no more, I wish you good success." Amputation being deemed necessary, this brave man expired, almost immediately, from the unskilfulness of the operator.

Whilst this struggle was going on near the church, a contest equally

warm was raging in another quarter of the town between Dormer's division and the party under Lord Charles Murray. In approaching the barrier commanded by this young nobleman, Dormer's men were exposed to a well-directed and murderous fire from the houses, yet, though newly-raised troops, they stood firm, and reached the barricade, from which, however, they were vigorously repulsed. Lord Charles Murray conducted himself with great bravery in repelling this attack, and anticipating a second attempt upon the barrier, he applied for and obtained a reinforcement of fifty gentlemen volunteers from the church-yard. Dormer's troops returned to the assault, but although they displayed great courage and resolution, they were again beaten back with loss. An attack made on the Windmill barricade, which was defended by Colonel Mackintosh, met with a similar fate.

Thus repulsed in all their attacks, and as in their approaches to the barriers the government troops had been incessantly exposed to a regular and well directed fire from the houses, General Wills issued orders to set the houses at both ends of the town on fire, for the purpose of dislodging the insurgents from such annoying positions, and cooping them up in the centre of the town. Many houses and barns were in consequence consumed, and almost the entire range of houses as far as Lord Charles Murray's barrier was burnt. As the assailants advanced under cover of the smoke of the conflagration, many of the insurgents, in attempting to escape from the flames, were cut down on the spot. The rebels in their turn attempted to dislodge the government troops from the houses of which they had obtained possession, by setting them on fire. Fortunately there was no wind at the time, otherwise the whole town would have been reduced to ashes.

Night came on, yet an irregular platooning was, notwithstanding, kept up till next day by both parties. To distinguish the houses possessed by the government forces, General Wills ordered them to be illuminated, a circumstance which gave the besieged a decided advantage, as the light from the windows enabled them to direct their fire with better effect. Wills soon perceived the error he had committed, and sent persons round to order the lights to be extinguished, which order being promulgated aloud in the streets, was so strangely misunderstood by those within, that, to the amusement of both parties, they set up additional lights. During the night a considerable number of the insurgents left the town.

Before day-break, General Wills visited the different posts, and gave directions for opening a communication between both divisions of the army to support each other, should necessity require. During the morning, which was that of Sunday the thirteenth day of November, he was occupied in making arrangements for renewing the attack. Meantime General Carpenter arrived about ten o'clock with Churchill's and Molesworth's dragoons, accompanied by the earl of Carlisle, Lord Lumley, and others. This event was as exhilarating to the royalists, as it was disheartening to the besieged, who, notwithstanding the defection of

their more timorous associates during the preceding night, were, before the accession of Carpenter, fully a match for their assailants. Wills, after explaining to Carpenter the state of matters, and the dispositions he had made, offered to resign the command to him, as his superior officer, but being satisfied with Wills's conduct, Carpenter declined to accept it, remarking, that as he had begun the affair so well, he ought to have the glory of finishing it. On examining matters himself, however, Carpenter found that the town was not sufficiently invested, particularly at the end of Fishergate street, which led to a meadow by which the insurgents could easily have escaped. He therefore posted Pitt's horse along the meadow, and lest the whole body of the besieged should attempt to force a retreat that way, he caused a communication to be opened through the enclosures on that side, that the other divisions of the army might the more readily hasten thither to intercept them.

Thus invested on all sides, and pent up within a narrow compass by the gradual encroachments of the royalists, the Jacobite General grew alarmed, and began to think of a surrender. The Highlanders were fully aware of their critical situation, but the idea of surrendering had never once entered their minds, and they had been restrained only by the most urgent entreaties, from sallying out upon the royalists, and cutting their way through their ranks, or dying, as they remarked, like men of honour, with their swords in their hands. Neither Foster nor any other officer durst, therefore, venture to make such a proposal to them, and Patten asserts, that had they known that Colonel Oxburgh had been sent on the mission he undertook, he would have never seen Tyburn, but would have been shot by common consent before he had passed the barrier. This gentleman, who had great influence over Foster (and who, in the opinion of the last named author, was better calculated, from the strictness with which he performed his religious duties, to be a priest than a field officer,) in conjunction with Lord Widdrington and others, prevailed upon him to make an offer of capitulation, thinking that they would obtain favourable terms from the government general. This resolution was adopted without the knowledge of the rest of the officers, and Oxburgh, who had volunteered to negotiate, went off about two o'clock in the afternoon to Wills's head-quarters. To prevent suspicion of his real errand, the soldiers were informed that General Wills had sent to offer them honourable terms, if they would lay down their arms.

The reception of Oxburgh by General Wills, was very different from what he and his friends had anticipated. Wills, in fact, absolutely refused to hear of any terms, and upon Oxburgh making an offer that the insurgents should lay down their arms, provided he would recommend them to the mercy of the king, he informed him that he would not treat with rebels, who had killed several of his majesty's subjects, and who consequently must expect to undergo the same fate. The Colonel,

thereupon, with great earnestness, begged the General, as an officer and a man of honour, to show mercy to people who were willing to submit. The royalist commander, somewhat softened, replied, that all he would promise was, that if the insurgents would lay down their arms and surrender themselves prisoners at discretion, he would prevent the soldiers from cutting them to pieces till further orders ; and that he would allow them an hour for the consideration of his offer. The result of this interview was immediately reported by Oxburgh to his friends, but nothing has transpired to throw any light upon their deliberations. Before the hour had elapsed, Mr Dalzell, brother to the earl of Carnwath, appeared at Wills's head quarters, and requested to know what terms he would grant separately to the Scots ; Wills answered that he would not treat with rebels, nor grant any other terms than those already offered.

To bring matters to an immediate issue, General Wills sent Colonel Cotton into the town about three o'clock in the afternoon, accompanied by a dragoon, and a drummer beating a chamade. Cotton alighted at the sign of the mitre, where the principal insurgent officers were assembled, and required an immediate answer to Wills's proposal. He was told, however, that differences existed between the English and Scottish officers upon the subject, but they requested that the General would allow them till seven o'clock next morning to settle their differences, and to consult upon the best method of delivering themselves up. This proposal being reported to Wills, he agreed to grant the Jacobite commanders the time required, provided they would bind themselves to throw up no new entrenchments in the streets, nor allow any of their men to escape ; for the performance of which stipulations he required the delivery of approved hostages.—Cotton having returned to the town, the earl of Derwentwater and Brigadier Mackintosh were pitched upon as hostages for the observance of these stipulations, and sent to the royalist headquarters.

As soon as the Highlanders perceived that a capitulation was resolved upon, their fury knew no bounds. They declared that sooner than surrender, they would die fighting, and that when they could no longer defend their posts, they would attempt to cut their way through their assailants, and make a retreat. During the night they paraded the streets, threatening destruction to every person who should even allude to a surrender. During these disturbances, several persons were killed, and many wounded, and Mr Forster, who was openly denounced as the originator of the capitulation, would certainly have been cut to pieces by the infuriated soldiers, had he appeared in the streets. He made a narrow escape even in his own chamber, a gentleman of the name of Murray having fired a pistol at him, the ball from which would have taken effect had not Mr Patten, the Jacobite chaplain, struck up the pistol with his hand, and thus diverted the course of the bullet, which penetrated the wainscot in the wall of the room.

At seven o'clock next morning, Forster notified to General Wills that

the insurgents were willing to surrender at discretion as he had required. Old Borlum being present when this message was delivered, observed that he would not be answerable for the Scots surrendering without terms, as they were people of desperate fortunes; and that he who had been a soldier himself, knew what it was to be a prisoner at discretion. "Go back to your people again," answered Wills, "and I will attack the town, and the consequence will be I will not spare one man of you." After this challenge, Mackintosh could not with a good grace remain, and returned to his friends; but he came back immediately, and informed Wills that Lord Kenmure and the rest of the Scots noblemen, as well as his brother, would surrender on the same conditions as the English.

Colonel Cotton was thereupon despatched with a detachment of two hundred men to take possession of the town, and the rest of the government forces thereafter entered it in two grand divisions, amid the sound of trumpets and beating of drums, and met in the market place, where the Highlanders were drawn up under arms ready to surrender. The number of prisoners taken on this occasion was fourteen hundred and sixty-eight, of whom about four hundred and sixty-three were English, including seventy-five noblemen and gentlemen—the Scots amounted to one thousand and five, of whom one hundred and forty-three were noblemen and gentlemen. The noblemen and gentlemen were placed under guards in the inns of the town, and the privates were confined in the church. On the part of the insurgents there were only seventeen killed and twenty-five wounded in the different attacks, but the loss on the part of the royalists was very considerable, amounting, it is believed, to five times the number of the former. From the small number of prisoners taken, it would appear that few of the country people who had joined the insurgents when they entered Lancashire, had remained in Preston. They probably left the town during the nights of Saturday and Sunday.*

* Patten, p. 97, et seq. *Annals of 2d year of George I.* p. 125, et seq. *Rae*, 316, et seq. *Faithful Register of the late Rebellion*, pp. 162, 163, 164.

CHAPTER XIV.

Mar issues an order of assessment—Detachment of his army surprised at castle Campbell—Preparations for opening the campaign—Departure from Perth—Junction of the western clans—Advance of Argyle from Stirling—Enters Dunblane—Preparations for battle—Battle of Sheriffmuir—Return of Mar to Perth, and of Argyle to Stirling—Capture of Inverness—Arrival of the Chevalier—Met by Mar at Fetteresso—His reception by the non-jurant clergy—Issues a variety of proclamations—Preparations of the duke of Argyle—Retreat of the Jacobite army from Perth—Departure of the Chevalier for France—Conclusion of the Insurrection.

HAVING, for the sake of continuity, brought the narrative of the English branch of the insurrection to a close, in the preceding chapter, we now proceed to detail the operations of the royalist and Jacobite armies under Argyle and Mar respectively, and the other transactions in the north which preceded its total suppression.

When the Jacobite general took the field he was so unprovided with money, that after Colonel Hay entered Perth he could spare him only fifty guineas for the use of his detachment, and so exhausted had his little treasury become shortly after he took up his quarters there, that he was reduced to the necessity of laying the surrounding country, and the shires of Fife, Kinross, and Clackmannan under contribution. By an order dated from the camp at Perth, on the fourth of October, he commanded and required every landed proprietor, feuwar, landed mortgagee, and all life-renters attending the standard of the Chevalier, to proportion and raise amongst their tenants and possessors, the sum of twenty shillings sterling on every hundred pounds scots of valued rent, and he ordered such landed proprietors as did not immediately or before the twelfth of October, attend his standard, to proportion and raise an assessment of double that amount. This order appears to have had little effect, as it was renewed on the twenty-first of October, when it was rigorously enforced, and the penalty of military execution threatened against those who should refuse to implement it.

To compel compliance, parties of horse and foot were despatched through the adjoining country. One of these, consisting of two hundred foot and one hundred horse, being sent towards the town of Dunfermline,

information of their march was brought to the duke of Argyle on Sunday, the twenty-third of October. His grace immediately despatched Colonel Cathcart with a detachment of dragoons to intercept them, who, receiving intelligence that the insurgents had passed Castle-Campbell, and had taken up their quarters for the night in a village on the road to Dunfermline, continued his march during the whole night, and coming upon the village unperceived at five o'clock in the morning, surprised the party, some of whom were taken while in bed. Among these were eleven gentlemen, including Gordon of Craig, Gordon of the Mill of Kincardine, Gordon younger of Aberlour, Hamilton of Gibstoun in Stirlingshire, Mr Murray brother to the laird of Abercairney, and Mr Hay son of Hay of Parbroath.*

After this affair, and for want of more stirring excitements, a sort of paper war was carried on between the two generals, which, if attended with little practical effect on either side, served at least to keep up in a more marked manner the distinction between the adherents of the government and the partizans of the Jacobite interest. When informed of the earl of Mar's order for an assessment, the duke of Argyle issued a counter one, on the twenty-fifth of October, prohibiting and discharging all persons from giving or furnishing the insurgents with money or provisions, under the pains of high treason, and for greater publicity he directed the same to be intimated at each parish church door after divine service, and before the dismissal of the congregation. This mandate was followed two days thereafter by another from the duke, requiring all well-affected noblemen, gentlemen, justices of the peace, magistrates and ministers, "to persuade and encourage all able-bodied and well-affected men," in their respective parishes, in town and country, to enlist in the regular army, and promising a bounty of forty shillings sterling in hand, and a discharge from the service if required at the end of three months after the suppression of the insurrection. This order was answered by a proclamation from the earl of Mar, dated first November, prohibiting and discharging all persons whatever, under the highest penalties, from giving obedience to it; and whereas, he had promised his protection, as he observes, to all ministers who behaved themselves dutifully, and did not acknowledge "the Elector of Brunswick as king, by praying for him as such in their churches and congregations;" yet as several of them continued the practice, and might thus "involve and mislead innocent and ignorant people, into traitorous and seditious practices;" he expressly prohibited "all ministers, as well in churches as in meeting houses, to acknowledge the Elector of Brunswick as king, and that upon their highest peril." And he ordered all officers, civil and military, to shut up the church doors of such ministers as should act in contempt of the order, to apprehend their persons and bring them prisoners to his camp. Many ministers, to avoid compliance

* Rae, p. 294.

with this order, absented themselves from their charges, but others who ventured openly to brave it, were apprehended and treated with severity. Mar, however, found a more pliant body in the non-jurant episcopal clergy, some of whom attached themselves to his camp, and harangued his troops from time to time on the duties they owed to their lawful sovereign, "King James the eighth."*

Although the earl seems to have calculated greatly upon the assistance of France, yet his stay at Perth appears to have been prolonged rather by the tardiness of the earl of Seaforth, in reaching the insurgent camp, than by any intention of waiting for supplies from France, or the expected invasion of England by the duke of Ormond; for no sooner did Seaforth arrive with the northern clans, about the beginning of November, than Mar began to concert measures with his officers for opening the campaign. The march of the earl of Seaforth had been retarded by the earl of Sutherland, at the head of a considerable number of his own men, and of the Mackays, Rosses, Monroes and others, but having compelled them to disperse, he proceeded on his march with about three thousand foot and eight hundred horse, leaving a sufficient force behind to protect his own country, and keep the royalist clans in check.

Hitherto the Jacobite commander, from the procrastinating system he had pursued, and from jealousies which had arisen in his camp among his officers, had experienced considerable difficulty in keeping his forces together. Of all men, the Highlanders were the most unlikely to relish the inactive duties of a camp, and as the duration of their services lay entirely with themselves, it was evident that the longer Mar delayed bringing them into action, the risk of their abandoning him was proportionably increased. It was not therefore without reason that one of the leaders remarked that he was afraid the Highlanders would desert their colours in three cases. 1. If they were long without being brought to action, they would tire and go home. 2. If they fought and were victorious, they would plunder and go home. 3. If they fought and were beaten, they would run away and go home.†

To counteract the injurious effect which a state of inaction might produce upon the minds of his men, Mar buoyed up their hopes by issuing from time to time, by means of a printing press brought from Aberdeen, and superintended by Freebairn of Edinburgh, a variety of fabricated accounts, highly favourable to their cause, respecting the progress of the rebellion in the south, and the great exertions making by the Chevalier's friends in France, all of which were swallowed with the utmost credulity by his unsuspecting adherents.

About the time the earl of Seaforth arrived at Perth, General Gordon had advanced as far as Castle Drummond with the western clans

* Wodrow's Letters, vol. 10. MS. Advocates' Library.

† MS. in the possession of Lord Rosslyn.

on his way to Perth; and as Mar had now resolved to attempt the passage of the Forth, he despatched an express to Gordon, to join him on his march. At a council of war, which was held on the ninth of November, the Jacobite chiefs came to the determination of leaving Perth the following day for Dunblane. On obtaining possession of this town, Mar's design was to detach three different bodies, of a thousand men each, to Stirling bridge, and the two adjacent fords above, for the purpose of amusing Argyle, while he himself with the main body of his army, consisting of nearly eight thousand men, should attempt to cross the river at a ford a little way above those selected for the intended *ruse*. In the event of success, the three detached bodies were to be directed to form a junction and follow the main body without delay, but in case the duke of Argyle abandoned Stirling to oppose the passage of the main body, they were to enter the town and fall upon his rear.

Accordingly, on the morning of Thursday, the tenth of November, Mar departed from Perth, leaving a garrison behind under Colonel Balfour, besides a scattered force of about three thousand men quartered in different parts of Fife. The earl not calculating upon a return to Perth, took all his baggage along with him and provisions sufficient to support his army for twelve days. The insurgents took up their quarters for the night at Auchterarder, where they were reviewed by the earl, and on the following day were joined by the western clans under General Gordon. The army rested the whole of the eleventh. On the morning of the twelfth, Mar ordered General Gordon to march forward with three thousand of the clans, and eight squadrons of horse under Brigadier Ogilvy, and the master of Sinclair, and take possession of Dunblane. After ordering the rest of the army to parade on the muir of Tullibardine, he departed for Drummond castle to hold an interview with the earl of Breadalbane, having previously directed General Hamilton to follow Gordon with the main body.

As early as the morning of Thursday the tenth of November, the duke of Argyle had received intelligence from some of his spies at Perth, of Mar's intended march, and of his plan for effecting the passage of the Forth. Fortunately for Argyle, his little army had been lately almost doubled by reinforcements from Ireland, and it now amounted to two thousand three hundred foot, and twelve hundred cavalry, all in the best order and condition, but though formidable from its composition when united, it was too weak to divide into detachments for resisting at different points the passage of an army thrice as numerous, in an attempt to cross the Forth. As Argyle, therefore, saw he could no longer retain his position on the banks of the river, which, from its now beginning to freeze, would soon be rendered more passable than before, he determined to cross the river and offer the insurgents battle before they should reach its northern bank. Though he exposed himself by this bold step to the disadvantage of fighting with a

river in his rear, he considered that the risk would be sufficiently counterbalanced by the advantage which his cavalry would have by engaging the enemy on level ground.

Having called in several small detachments which were quartered at Glasgow, Kilsyth, and Falkirk, Argyle crossed Stirling bridge on the morning of the twelfth of November, for Dunblane, much about the same time that Mar's forces had begun to advance upon that town in an opposite direction from Auchterarder. In a short time after their setting out, Argyle's advanced guard took possession of Dunblane, of which circumstance General Gordon was apprized on his march. Having halted his division, Gordon sent an express, announcing the intelligence to General Hamilton, who despatched it to the earl of Mar, and in a short time he forwarded a second express confirming the previous news, and adding that the enemy were in great force. Hamilton, upon receipt of this last despatch, halted his men on the ground adjoining the Roman camp at Ardoch, about five miles from Dunblane, till he should receive instructions from the earl. Mar soon thereafter returned from Drummond castle, and being desirous of obtaining additional intelligence from the general in advance, ordered Hamilton to remain in his position, and to hold his men in readiness to march on a moment's notice. This order had however been scarcely issued, when a fresh despatch arrived from General Gordon, announcing that the duke of Argyle was in Dunblane with his whole army. Mar thereupon sent an express to Gordon, desiring him to remain where he was till the main body of the army should come up, and having ordered three guns to be fired, the signal agreed upon to be given Hamilton for putting his men in marching order, the latter immediately formed his division and put it in motion. After a junction between the two divisions of the army had been formed, the insurgents marched to the bridge of Kinbuck, about four miles from Dunblane, where they passed the night under arms without any covering or tent. The duke of Argyle, who had the most exact intelligence brought to him of the motions of the insurgents, left Dunblane and formed his army in order of battle in the evening, on a rising ground above the house of Kippenross, about two miles north-east from the town. His army was drawn up in one extended line. In the centre were eight battalions of foot under the command of Major General Wightman. The right wing consisted of five squadrons of dragoons, under Lieutenant General Evans, and a similar number, at the head of whom was Lieutenant General Whitham, composed the left wing. After thus drawing up his men, his grace issued orders that no tent should be pitched during the night either by officer or private soldier; that all the officers without distinction should remain at their posts; and that the troops should rest on their arms in the exact order in which they had been formed. The severest penalties were threatened those who should infringe these orders. Though the night was extremely cold, the troops prostrated themselves upon the bare ground, and snatched a few hours repose.

The duke himself retired to a sheep-cote at the foot of a hill on the right of the army, where he passed the night sitting on a bundle of straw. Intelligence having been brought him at midnight of the near position of the enemy, he ordered six rounds of ammunition to be distributed to each man in addition to twenty-four which they had already received. This order was carried into effect before two o'clock in the morning.*

Although the two armies had bivouacked during the night within three miles of each other, and were only separated by the Sheriffmuir, an elevated and uneven waste, skirted on the west by the high road from Stirling to Perth, near the river Allan, yet so ignorant was Mar of the movements of Argyle, that so far from supposing him to be within such a short distance of his camp, he imagined that he still remained at Dunblane; and it was not until he observed a reconnoitring party of Argyle's cavalry on the adjoining heights of the Sheriffmuir next morning that he became aware of his immediate proximity. This party was headed by the duke himself, who had aroused his army by break of day, and who, after issuing instructions to his men to prepare for battle, had ascended at an early hour the hill where his advanced guard was posted to survey the position of the insurgents.

The earl of Mar had also put his men under arms shortly after break of day, and when Argyle's party of observation was first noticed, he was busily engaged ranging his men in marching order, preparatory to advancing upon Dunblane. Conceiving that Argyle meant to offer him battle immediately, he instantly assembled all the chiefs in front of his horse and after addressing them in an eloquent speech, in which he painted in glowing colours the wrongs of their prince and their country, and congratulated them that the day had at length arrived when they could revenge their injuries in open battle, he desired to know if they were willing to engage. The marquis of Huntly alone raised some objections, and some few were heard in an under-tone to advise a return to Perth till the spring; but the voices of Huntly and his supporters were drowned by loud shouts of "fight, fight!" from the rest, who at once galloped off to their different posts.†

The earl of Mar, thereupon, resumed the marshalling of his army, which formed into two lines with a rapidity and decision, which would have done honour to veteran troops, but by accident, three squadrons of horse posted on the left, misled by a cry from the Highlanders, of "horse to the right," left their position and took ground on the right, an unfortunate mistake for the insurgents, as it contributed to the defeat of their left wing. The centre of the first line was composed of ten battalions of foot, consisting of about four thousand men under the

* Rae, p. 302.

† MS. in the possession of Lord Rosslyn, referred to in Lord John Russell's *History of Europe*, p. 345. Jacobite Official Account of the battle, printed at Perth, 1715.

command of the captain of Clanranald, Glengary, Sir John Maclean, the laird of Glenbucket, Brigadier Ogilvy, and the two brothers of Sir Donald Macdonald of Sleat. General Gordon, who had long served in the army of the Czar of Muscovy, was at the head of these battalions. On the right of this line were placed two of the Marquis of Huntly's squadrons of horse, and another called the Stirling squadron, which carried the Chevalier's standard. This squadron, which consisted wholly of gentlemen, also bore the title of "the Restoration regiment of horse." The Perthshire squadron formed the left wing. The centre of the second line consisted of eight battalions of foot, viz. three of the earl of Seaforth's foot, two of the marquis of Huntly's, the earl of Panmure's battalion, and those of the marquis of Tullibardine of Drummond, commanded by the viscount of Strathallan, and of Logie-Almond, and Robertson of Struan. On the right of this second line were posted two squadrons of horse under the Earl Marischal. The Angus squadron was on the left. The whole of the force thus formed for action may be estimated at eight thousand, besides which there was a *corps de reserve* of four hundred horse posted considerably in the rear.

While this formation was going on, the duke of Argyle observed for several hours with great attention the various evolutions of the insurgents; but from the nature of the ground occupied by them he could not obtain a full view of their line which extended through a hollow way, the view of which was obstructed by the brow of a hill which was occupied by a party of Mar's troops. From Mar's advanced guards looking towards Dunblane, the duke conjectured that the insurgents intended to march in that direction; but he was undeceived in this idea by a movement on the part of a mass of the insurgents towards his right as if they intended to cross the moor and fall upon the flank of his army. As a large morass lay in the way of the insurgents, Argyle, in advancing from Dunblane, had conceived himself free from danger on that side; but it had now been rendered quite passable for foot as well as horse by a keen frost during the preceding night. As soon as Argyle saw this large body advance up the face of the moor, which, from the right wing of the insurgents being concealed from his view by a rising ground, he supposed was the main body of Mar's army, he requested the advice of the officers who surrounded him as to how he should act. It was the general opinion, an opinion in which the duke himself concurred, that there would be less risk in engaging the insurgents on the high grounds than in waiting for them in the position occupied by the duke's army; but although most of the officers thought that there would not be sufficient time to bring forward the troops and to change the order of battle, a change which was absolutely necessary, the duke resolved to draw out his troops upon the moor.*

Having come to this determination, the duke returned quickly to the

* Wodrow's Letters, MS. vol. 10.

army, and ordered the drums to beat the *General*. This order was given about eleven o'clock ; but although the drums instantly beat to arms, an hour elapsed before the troops were ready to march. The new order of battle was as follows. The duke's first line consisted of six battalions of foot, all old troops, amounting scarcely to eighteen hundred men. On the right were posted three squadrons of dragoons being the best in the army, namely Evans's, the Scots Greys, and the earl of Stairs. On the left there were placed three squadrons of dragoons, namely, Carpenter's, Ker's, and a squadron of Stairs. The second line was composed of only two battalions of foot, with a squadron of dragoons on each wing. The right wing of the army was commanded by the duke himself, the centre by General Wightman, and the left by General Whitham. Behind Evans's dragoons, on the right wing, a body of about sixty horse, noblemen and gentlemen volunteers, took up a station.

The body which Argyle had observed coming up the face of the moor, was a squadron of the Earl Marischal's horse and Sir Donald Macdonald's battalion, under their respective commanders. These had been despatched by the earl of Mar, to drive away the reconnoitring party under the duke of Argyle from the height ; but on its disappearing, they returned and reported the circumstance to the earl. On receiving this intelligence, Mar gave orders to his troops to march up the hill in four columns. The whole army was accordingly put in motion, but they had not proceeded far when the Earl Marischal, who was in advance, observed Argyle forming his lines on the southern summit of the hill, at a short distance from him. He immediately notified the circumstance to Mar, who instantly gave orders to his men to quicken their pace up the hill. In the hurry of their ascent, the second line pressed so closely upon the first as to occasion some confusion on the left when again getting into line, and it was in consequence of this disorder that the squadrons of horse forsook their position on the left, and took ground on the right.

Before the insurgents reached the summit of the moor, Argyle's right wing was fully formed, but the greater part of his centre and left, who were moving up the ascent by a gradual progression from right to left, had not yet reached their ground. Argyle's right now found itself within pistol-shot of Mar's left, but from the greater extent of Mar's line, it considerably outflanked Argyle's left.

As soon as the earl of Mar perceived that Argyle's line was only partially formed, he resolved instantly to attack him before he should be able to complete his arrangements ; and having sent orders to his right and left to fall simultaneously upon the enemy, Mar placed himself at the head of the clans, and being apprized by a firing on his left that the action had commenced, he pulled off his hat, which he waved, and with a huzza led forward his men upon the half-formed battalions which composed the left wing of the enemy. Arrived within pistol-shot, the Highlanders, according to custom, poured in a volley upon the English

infantry. The fire was instantly returned, and, to the dismay of the Highlanders, Alan Muidartach, the captain of Clanranald, was mortally wounded. He was instantly carried off the field, and, as his men clustered around him, he encouraged them to stand firm to their posts, and expressed a hope that the result of the struggle in which they were engaged would be favourable to the cause of his sovereign. The loss of a chief, who, from the stately magnificence with which he upheld his feudal rank, and the urbanity of his disposition, had acquired an ascendancy over the minds of his people, could not fail to depress their spirits, and make them almost overlook the danger of their situation. While absorbed in grief, they were in a moment roused from their dejection by Glengary, who, observing their conduct at this juncture, sprung forward, and throwing his bonnet into the air, cried aloud, in the expressive language of his country, "Revenge! Revenge! Revenge to-day and mourning to-morrow!" No sooner had this brave chieftain pronounced these words, than the Highlanders rushed forward, sword in hand, with the utmost fury, upon the royalist battalions. The government troops attempted to stem the impetuosity of the attack, by opposing the Highlanders with fixed bayonets, but the latter pushed them aside with their targets, and rushing in with their broad swords among the enemy, spread death and terror around them. The three battalions on Argyle's left, which had never been properly formed, unable to rally, instantly gave way, and falling back upon some squadrons of horse in their rear, created such confusion, that within seven or eight minutes after the assault, the form of a battalion or squadron was no longer discernible. A complete route ensued; and there seems no doubt that the whole of Argyle's left would have been completely destroyed, had not General Whitham, at the head of the squadrons which were upon the left of the battalions, checked the advance of Mar's horse by a charge, in which he succeeded in capturing a standard. Afraid of being outflanked by Argyle's left wing, which extended far beyond his position, and being ignorant of what was passing on the right wing of the royalists, the view of which was concealed by the unevenness of the ground, Whitham retired in the direction of Dunblane. The earl of Mar pursued the disordered mass to the distance of only half a mile, and having ordered his foot to halt till he should put them in order, resolved to follow the enemy and complete the victory; but receiving intelligence that his left wing and second line had given way, and that his artillery had been taken, he retraced his steps, and took up a position on the top of the stony hill of Kippendavie, till he should receive further information respecting the fate of his left wing.

This wing, which was the first to begin the attack, opened a fire upon Argyle's right wing when almost within pistol shot. The Highlanders thereafter steadily advanced, and pouring a second volley among the enemy, with a precision and effect not to be surpassed by the best disciplined troops, rushed up, sword in hand, to the very muzzles

of their muskets. Though the fire was destructive, and made Evans's dragoons reel for a time, the English troops maintained their ground, and the foot kept up a platooning, which checked the fury of their assailants. The struggle continued for some time without any decided advantage on either side; but as Argyle began to perceive that he could make no impression in front upon the numerous masses of the insurgents, and that he might be out-flanked by them, he resolved to attack them on their flank with part of his cavalry, while his foot should gall them with their fire in front. He therefore ordered Colonel Cathcart to move along the morass to the right with a strong body of cavalry, and to fall upon the flank of Mar's left wing, a movement which he executed with great skill. Cathcart, after receiving a fire from the insurgent horse, immediately charged them, but they sustained the assault with great firmness. Borne down by the superior weight of the English dragoons, whose horses were much larger than those of the insurgents, the Scottish horse, after nearly half-an-hour's contest, were compelled to give way. The foot of Argyle's right having made a simultaneous attack upon Mar's first line of foot, the latter also were forced to fall back, and Mar's horse and foot coming into contact with his second line, they mixed indiscriminately, and a general route in consequence ensued.

After receding a short distance, the insurgent horse, which consisted principally of the Jacobite gentry of Perthshire and Angus, attempted to rally, and even to charge Argyle's cavalry in their turn, but they were again forced to retire by the pressure of the English dragoons, who kept advancing in regular order upon the receding masses of the insurgents. Determined, however, not to yield one inch of ground without the utmost necessity, the cavalier horse made repeated efforts to drive the enemy back, and, in the course of their retreat, made ten or twelve attempts at different places to rally and charge the advancing foe; but unable to resist the overwhelming pressure of the English cavalry, they were, after three hours' hard fighting, driven across the river Allan by Argyle's dragoons. Some idea may be formed of the obstinacy of the contest, when it is considered that the distance from the field of battle to the river is scarcely three miles. To the gallant stand made by the horse may be ascribed the safety of the foot, who would have been probably all cut to pieces by the dragoons, if the attention of the latter had not been chiefly occupied by the horse. The foot, however, suffered considerably in the retreat, notwithstanding the humanity of the duke of Argyle, who endeavoured to restrain the carnage. Besides offering quarter to such of the Jacobite gentlemen as were personally known to him, he displayed his anxiety for the preservation of his countrymen so far, that on observing a party of his dragoons cutting down a body of foot, into which they had thrown themselves, he exclaimed with a feeling of deep emotion, "Ohi, spare the poor Blue-bonnets!"

As Mar's right wing had been concealed from the view of Argyle, the latter conceived that the numerous body he was driving before him

formed the entire of the insurgent army. He, therefore, resolved to continue the pursuit till dark, and to support him, he ordered General Wightman, who commanded his foot upon the right, to follow him with his battalions as quickly as possible. Wightman accordingly proceeded to follow the duke with a force of rather more than three regiments ; but he had not marched far, when he heard a firing on his left, to ascertain the cause of which, he sent his aid-de-camp in the direction whence the firing proceeded. This officer returned in a short time, and reported that the half of Argyle's foot, and the squadrons on the left, had all been cut off by the right of the insurgents, which was superior in point of numbers to Argyle's left. Wightman thereupon slackened his pace, and despatched a messenger to inform the duke of the fate of his left wing. Afraid of being attacked in his rear by Mar's right wing, he kept his men in perfect order, but no demonstration was made to follow him. When informed of the defeat of his left wing, Argyle gave over the pursuit, and joining Wightman with five squadrons of dragoons, put his men in order of battle and marched boldly to the bottom of the hill, on the top of which the enemy, amounting to four thousand men, were advantageously posted. Argyle had now scarcely a thousand men under him, and as these were already greatly exhausted, he judged it expedient to act on the defensive ; and accordingly he posted his men behind some enclosures at the bottom of the hill, ready to repel any attack which the enemy might make. For better protection he posted two pieces of cannon on his right and left, to play upon the enemy should they approach ; but the insurgents showed no disposition to engage, and both parties, as if by mutual consent, retired from their positions in different directions. The duke filed off his men to the right, in marching order, towards Dunblane ; but as he still dreaded an attack, he formed his men several times on the march, wherever he found the ground convenient, and waited the approach of the enemy. Mar drew off his men toward Ardoch, where he passed the night, and Argyle's troops lay under arms during the night in the neighbourhood of Dunblane.

As might have been expected, on an occasion of such dubious success on either side, both parties claimed a victory, but impartiality will confer the palm on neither. Argyle, it is true, visited the field of battle the following morning, which Mar might also have done had he been inclined, and this circumstance, therefore, can afford no argument in support of his pretensions. Neither can the capture of standards and colours by Argyle be considered as a proof of success, for although he took fourteen colours and standards, including the royal standard called "the Restoration," besides six pieces of cannon and other trophies, Mar, according to the official Jacobite account, captured four stands of colours, several drums, and about fourteen or fifteen hundred stands of arms. Accounts the most contradictory have been given by both parties of the losses sustained by them. According to the rolls of Argyle's muster-master general, his loss amounted to two hundred and ninety

men killed, a hundred and eighty-seven wounded, and a hundred and thirty-three prisoners, making a grand total of six hundred and ten, while the Jacobite account makes the loss in killed and wounded on the side of Argyle amount to between seven and eight hundred, and states the number of killed on Mar's side as only one in fifteen to those of Argyle. On the other hand, the Jacobites state their loss in killed at only sixty, and that very few of their men were wounded, while the royalists say that they lost, in killed and wounded, about eight hundred men.* From these statements, it appears that the main discrepancy relates to the loss on the Jacobite side, which can neither be admitted to the extent of the royalist account, nor considered so low as that given by the Jacobites. But even supposing the royalist statement correct, the comparative loss of the insurgents scarcely exceeded one-third of that sustained by the government forces.

Several officers were killed on the royalist side. Among the wounded was the earl of Forfar, a brave officer who commanded Morison's regiment. He received a shot in the knee, and sixteen other wounds, of which he died at Stirling about three weeks after the battle. Several persons of distinction were killed on the side of the insurgents, among whom were the earl of Strathmore, and the captain of Clanranald. A considerable number of gentlemen were taken prisoners by Argyle, but many of them escaped, and he was only enabled to carry eighty-two of them to Stirling. Of this number were Lord Strathallan, Thomas Drummond his brother, Walkinshaw of Barrowfield, Drummond of Logie-Drummond, and Murray of Auchtertyre.

On whichever side success lay, the battle, in its consequences, was most important in many respects to the government, as it was immediately followed by the desertion of a considerable number of the clans. With the exception of the Macdonalds, who particularly distinguished themselves on the right, and the Perthshire and Angus horse who withstood the repeated shocks of Argyle's cavalry, the remainder of the insurgent army made little resistance. The Macphersons and Macgregors did not join in the contest at all, but looked on as if unconcerned about the result. Some of the clans, disgusted at the pusillanimity or indifference exhibited by their associates, and others dispirited by the firmness displayed by the government forces, returned to their homes, thus verifying the observation made by a Jacobite in reference to the clans, that whether victorious or beaten, they would run away and go home. The defection of these clans was a severe blow to Mar, and made him abandon the idea of crossing the Forth. He, therefore, returned to Perth with the remains of his army, and to encourage the friends of the Jacobite interest, circulated the most favourable accounts of his alleged success at Sheriffmuir, and of the state of the Chevalier's affairs, although he himself began to consider them desper-

ate.* The duke of Argyle, on the other hand, retired to his original head-quarters at Stirling, intending to resume offensive operations as soon as some expected reinforcements should arrive.

The attempt of Mar to disguise the real state of matters was too gross to deceive his adherents, and there were not a few who already began to entertain thoughts of making their own terms with the government; but the Highland chiefs and the principal officers remained firm, and urged Mar to risk another battle even with his reduced forces. The earl, however, though personally brave, was not the man to comply with an advice so opposed to the rule he had laid down for himself, never to engage without a very superior force on his side. But had he been of a different opinion, an event of which he soon received intelligence would probably have precluded him from moving a second time upon Stirling. This was the capture of the important fort of Inverness, by a party of the Frasers, Grants, and others, headed by Simon Fraser of Beaufort, better known in history as Lord Lovat; who, to promote his own personal interest with the government, had taken a decided part against the Chevalier. The clannish principle that obedience to a chief is the first of duties, was fully exemplified on this occasion, by the defection of a large body of the Frasers, who had joined Mar's standard under Fraser of Fraserdale, in the absence of their chief. The earl of Seaforth, the greater part of whose men had returned home, was despatched to the north on receipt of this intelligence, for the purpose of collecting forces, and of attempting, in conjunction with the marquis of Huntly, who was also sent north with his horse, the reduction of Inverness.

It has been remarked as a singular circumstance in this history of Mar's insurrection, that the three important events which decided its fate should have occurred in regular daily succession. Inverness was captured on the twelfth of November, and on the same day Mackintosh's forces, cooped up in Preston, had to maintain a precarious struggle against the attacks of Wells' army. Next day witnessed the battle of Sheriffmuir, and at the very time the insurgents in Preston were offering terms of surrender, the right wings of Argyle's and Mar's armies were pursuing, with all the confidence of victory, the wings to which they were respectively opposed. And lastly, while on the fourteenth the insurgents in England were capitulating at Preston, the two rival armies in the north were retiring to their head quarters, each of them claiming a victory.

As the capture of Inverness by the royalists was an important occurrence in the history of this short-lived insurrection, some account of it and of some preliminary circumstances connected therewith may not be here out of place. So late as the thirteenth of September, only two months before the battle of Sheriffmuir, and the surrender at Preston, Brigadier Mackintosh, at the head of five hundred men, had

* Journal of Mar's proceedings, printed at Paris.

proclaimed the Chevalier in the capital of the Highlands. He had thereupon demanded possession of some arms and ammunition which were in Culloden-house, but the lady of Mr Forbes the proprietor, who was then in London, shut the gates, and refused to deliver up the keys. At her desire, Colonel Munro, son of Sir Robert Munro of Fowlis, who had lately been appointed governor of Inverness, raised two hundred well-armed men, to protect the lands of Culloden ; but on arriving at the water of Conon with his men, he was induced to retrace his steps, in consequence of a message from the earl of Seaforth, threatening to oppose his passage with a body of fifteen hundred men.

When Mackintosh marched south to join the earl of Mar, a detachment under Sir John Mackenzie of Coul, took possession of Inverness by desire of the earl of Seaforth. Meantime, Colonel Munro had formed a camp at Alness, where he had collected nearly six hundred of the Munros and Rosses, and where he was joined on the sixth of October, by the earl of Sutherland, and the Lords Strathnaver and Reay, who brought about six hundred additional men along with them. The object of collecting this force was twofold,—first, to protect the territories of the great northern whigs from the incursions of a formidable body of eighteen hundred men, which lay encamped at Braham, under the earl of Seaforth ; and secondly, by threatening an inroad upon his own lands and those of his followers, to detain the earl in the north, and thus prevent his junction with the forces under Mar. By the junction of seven hundred Macdonalds, under Sir Donald Macdonald, and other minor accessions from the Mackinnons, Macraes, the Chisholms of Strathglass, and other clans, the earl's force was increased to three thousand men. Thus strengthened, Seaforth left his camp on the ninth of October, to attack the earl of Sutherland, but the latter, on account of the disparity of numbers, made a retreat to the Bonar, after which his men dispersed and returned to their homes. A body of about six hundred Grants, who had advanced as far as the water of Findhorn, for the purpose of entering Ross, and joining the camp at Alness, on hearing of the retreat of the earl of Sutherland, returned home. At Alness, where Seaforth took up his quarters, he collected a large quantity of booty from the lands of the Munros, and after spending some days there, he marched to Inverness, whence he took his departure for the south.

About this time, Lord Lovat arrived in the north, and, in conjunction with some friends of the government, formed a plan for seizing Inverness. Having collected a body of the Frasers and Grants, he invested the town, and sent in a detachment under the command of Captain Arthur Ross, brother to the laird of Kilravock, to surprise it ; but the detachment was repulsed, and the captain killed. A resolution was thereupon entered into by the besiegers, to surround the town and castle, preparatory to a general assault ; but Sir John Mackenzie, the Jacobite governor, conceiving himself incapable of making an effec-

tual resistance, evacuated the castle, and crossing the Frith with his men in boats, allowed Lovat to enter the town without further opposition. In retaliation for the earl of Seaforth's conduct at Alness, the earl of Sutherland, after the capture of Inverness, made a journey with his own men, and parties of the Mackays, Rosses, and Munroes, through the country of the Mackenzies, and levied a contribution upon all the gentlemen of that name, whose tenants had joined Seaforth, equal to six weeks' provisions, for the number of men they were bound by law to have furnished the government.*

The arrival of the Chevalier had been long anxiously looked for by his friends in Scotland. He was now about to gratify their desire of beholding his person; but James had already missed the golden opportunity, which presented itself at an early stage of the insurrection, of recovering his father's crown. Had he, on arriving at St Malo, whither he proceeded from Lorraine at the breaking out of the insurrection, instantly taken shipping, he would not only have complied with the declared wishes of his adherents, but would have evinced at once a determination to maintain his claim. Instead of embarking, however, immediately, as he should have done, he spent so much time in the shipment of supplies, which he was desirous should precede his departure, that he was at last altogether prevented from sailing by some men-of-war, which appeared off the harbour of St Malo, and which had been sent by the British government to intercept him. That he might not disappoint the expectations of his partizans, he resolved to go to Dunkirk in quest of shipping, and having traversed the country in disguise, he embarked at that port, about the middle of December, on board a small French vessel of eight guns, which had formerly been a privateer. He was attended by five persons only, who, to prevent suspicion, were disguised as French officers. Among these were the marquis of Tynemouth, son of the duke of Berwick, and Lieutenant Allan Cameron, a son of Lochiel.

If, from the apparent pusillanimity of the prince's conduct at St Malo, there were persons who felt inclined to question his courage, they must have been undeceived by this bold and adventurous step. While at St Malo, he had, to avoid the risk of capture, formed the design of eschewing both channels, by shipping his course along the western coast of Ireland, and landing in the western Highlands. In this way he would have incurred little danger; but the case was very different in traversing the German ocean, which was beset by British men-of-war, which were constantly on the alert. Yet regardless of the evident risk which he ran, by attempting a descent upon the eastern coast of Scotland, he sailed from Dunkirk in the small vessel in which he had embarked, after leaving instructions to despatch after him two other vessels which lay in the harbour with his domestics, and some

* Rae, p. 328, et seq.

stores for the use of his army. It was the Chevalier's intention to have landed in the vicinity of the Frith of Tay, and accordingly, after steering in a northerly direction, he stood across for the coast of Angus, which was desiered after a voyage of five days; but observing, at some distance, a sail, which he judged to be unfriendly, he altered his course to northward with the design of landing at Peterhead, of which the Earl Marischal was the feudal superior. The vessel which carried the Chevalier came, however, sufficiently near to land to intimate by signals to the friends of the prince in the neighbourhood that he was on board, which intelligence was immediately conveyed to the camp at Perth, where it was received with a feeling of intense delight.

The Chevalier arrived off Peterhead, on the twenty second of December, seven days from the date of his departure from Dunkirk, and immediately landed with his small retinue of five persons, all disguised as seamen. After despatching the vessel to France with the news of his arrival, he and his companions took up their abode in the town for the night. He passed the next night at Newburgh, a seat of the Earl Marischal, having previously sent Lieutenant Cameron to Perth with the intelligence of his landing. The Chevalier continued his journey towards Perth, and on the twenty fourth, passed *incognito* through Aberdeen, and arrived at Fetteresso, the principal seat of the Earl Marischal, where he remained several days. As soon as Lieutenant Cameron reached Perth, the earl of Mar, the Earl Marischal, General Hamilton, and about thirty other gentlemen, mounted their horses, and set off to meet the Chevalier. This cavalcade arrived at Fetteresso on the twenty seventh, and the persons composing it were introduced to "the king," and had the honour of kissing his hand. After the breaking up of the court, the Chevalier was proclaimed at the gates of the house, and printed copies of the declaration which he had issued in Lorraine were immediately dispersed.*

The Chevalier intended to have proceeded next day on his journey to Perth, but he was detained at Fetteresso till the second of January, by two successive fits of ague, which, however, did not prevent him from receiving addresses from the "Episcopal clergy of the diocese of Aberdeen," and from the magistrates, town council, and Jacobite inhabitants of the town. The address of the clergy, which was presented on the twenty ninth of December by the Rev. Drs James and George Garden, Dr Burnet, and the Rev. Messrs Dumbreck, Blair, and Maitland, was couched in very loyal terms, and as embodying the sentiments of a highly respectable party, deserves something more than a mere passing notice. Although, among all lovers of rational liberty, there can be little difference of opinion as to the expediency which dictated the expulsion of the unfortunate race of Stuart from the throne, still we cannot but admire the firm attachment displayed by the adherents of that family to their

cause, even in its most hopeless state. It was quite natural for the catholics to espouse the cause of the Chevalier and his son, as apart from their principles which tend to support hereditary succession, these princes were professed catholics ; but no motives save those of the purest loyalty could have induced the non-jurant clergy and their flocks to enlist themselves under the banners of the descendants of a king who intended, as many believed, perhaps erroneously, to have established the catholic religion. The catholics had, no doubt, even when labouring under the most galling restrictions, shown them the example by their stern inflexibility to the two Charleses, but by comparing the relative situations of both parties at the period in question, the protestant Jacobites of the north may be considered entitled to the precedence in disinterestedness.

The address from the clergy, after expressing thanks to God for the Chevalier's "safe and happy arrival" in Scotland, where his presence had been so much longed for, thus proceeds:—"We hope and pray that God may open the eyes of such of your subjects, as malicious and self-designing men have industriously blinded with prejudices against your majesty, as if the recovery of your just rights would ruin our religious liberties and property, which by the overturning of these rights have been highly encroached upon ; and we are persuaded that your majesty's justice and goodness will settle and secure those just privileges, to the conviction of your most malicious enemies.

"Almighty God has been pleased to train up your majesty from your infancy in the school of the cross, in which the divine grace inspires the mind with true wisdom and virtue, and guards it against those false blandishments by which prosperity corrupts the heart ; and as this school has sent forth the most illustrious princes, as Moses, Joseph, and David, so we hope the same infinitely wise and good God designs to make your majesty, not only a blessing to your own kingdoms, and a true father of them, but also a great instrument of the general peace and good of mankind.

"Your princely virtues are such, that in the esteem of the best judges you are worthy to wear a crown, though you had not been born to it ; which makes us confident that it will be your majesty's care to make your subjects a happy people, and so to secure them in their religious liberties and property as to leave no just ground of distrust, and to unite us all in true Christianity according to the gospel of Jesus Christ, and the practice of the primitive Christians." After alluding to the proclamation issued by the government for securing the person of the Chevalier, which is designated as an encouragement to murder, the addressers assure him that as it had been so it should be their care to instil into the minds of the people true principles of loyalty to his "majesty." The Chevalier in answer stated, that he was sensible of the zeal and loyalty which they had expressed for him, and that he should be glad to have opportunities of giving them marks of his favour

and protection. A similar answer was returned to the address from Aberdeen.

While at Fetteresso the Chevalier exercised some of the functions of royalty, by conferring titles of dignity on some of his adherents. He raised the earl of Mar to a dukedom; and, according to report, conferred the honour of knighthood upon Bannerman, the Jacobite provost of Aberdeen, who presented the address from that city. Having recovered from his attack, the Chevalier left Fetteresso on the second of January, and went to Brechin, where he passed the night. Next day he moved forward to Kinnaird, and on the fourth he removed to Glamis Castle, the principal seat of the earl of Strathmore. At Glamis Mar drew up a letter, in which he gave a very flattering account of the Chevalier. As the object of this letter was to impress the people with a favourable opinion of the Chevalier, Mar ordered it to be printed and circulated as widely as possible. The letter is written with address, and may still be perused with interest:

“Glames, 5 Jan. 1716.

“I met the king at Fetteresso on Tuesday se’night, where we staid till Friday; from thence we came to Brechin, then to Kinnaird, and yesterday here. The king designed to have gone to Dundee to-day, but there is such a fall of snow that he is forced to put it off till to-morrow, if it be practicable then; and from thence he designs to go to Scoon. There was no haste in his being there sooner, for nothing can be done this season, else he had not been so long by the way. People, everywhere, as we have come along, are excessively fond to see him, and express that duty they ought. Without any compliment to him, and to do him nothing but justice, set aside his being a prince, he is really the first gentleman I ever knew: He has a very good presence, and resembles King Charles a great deal. His presence, however, is not the best of him. He has fine parts, and despatches all his business himself with the greatest exactness. I never saw any body write so finely. He is affable to a great degree, without losing that majesty he ought to have, and has the sweetest temper in the world. In a word, he is every way fitted to make us a happy people, were his subjects worthy of him. To have him peaceably settled on his throne, is what these kingdoms do not deserve; but he deserves it so much that I hope there is a good fate attending him. I am sure there is nothing wanting to make the rest of his subjects as fond of him as we are, but their knowing him as we do; and it will be odd if his presence among us, after his running so many hazards to compass it, do not turn the hearts, even of the most obstinate. It is not fit to tell all the particulars, but I assure you he has left nothing undone, that well could be, to gain every body; and I hope God will touch their hearts.

“I have reason to hope we shall very quickly see a new face of affairs abroad in the king’s favour, which is all I dare commit to paper.

“MAR.”

On the morning of the sixth of January the Chevalier left Glamis for Dundee, which town he entered about eleven o'clock A.M. on horseback, amidst the acclamations of the inhabitants, the earl of Mar riding on his right hand, and the Earl Marischal on his left, and followed by a train of nearly three hundred adherents on horseback. To gratify the people who flocked round him eager to behold him and to kiss his hand, he, at the request of his friends, remained about an hour on horseback at the cross of the burgh, after which he rode out to the house of Stewart of Grandtully in the neighbourhood, where he dined and passed the night. On the following day he proceeded along the Carse of Gowrie to Castle Lyon, a seat of the earl of Strathmore, where he dined, and thence to Fingask, the seat of Sir David Threipland, where he spent the night. Next day, being Sunday, he took up his abode in the royal palace of Scoon, where he intended to stay till the ceremony of his coronation should be performed.

On Monday the Chevalier made his public entry into Perth. He met, however, with a cold reception, and he himself felt evidently disappointed at the appearance of the camp. He had heard much of the Highland chiefs and the clans, and being desirous to see "those little kings (the chiefs,) with their armies," as he expressed himself, a select body of Highlanders exhibited before him. Their appearance gave him great satisfaction, but when he ascertained the paucity of the number in the camp, he could not repress the chagrin and disappointment he felt. On the other hand, the friends of the Chevalier were equally disappointed. Neither his appearance nor demeanour on the present occasion tended in any shape to justify the exaggerated encomiums of Mar, and his lugubrious deportment while at Perth, tended more to alienate the affections of his adherents, and depress their spirits, than even the disappointment of supplies from France. The master of Sinclair, an eye-witness, thus describes the appearance of the Chevalier on his arrival at Perth, his behaviour while there, and their consequent effects upon his followers.

"His person was tall and thin, seeming to incline to be lean rather than to fill as he grows in years. His countenance was pale, but perhaps looked more so than usual, by reason he had three fits of ague which took him two days after his coming on shore. Yet he seems to be sanguine in his constitution, and there is something of a vivacity in his eye that perhaps would have been more visible if he had not been under dejected circumstances, and surrounded with discouragement, which it must be acknowledged were sufficient to alter the complexion even of his soul as well as of his body. His speech was grave, and not very clearly expressive of his thoughts, nor over much to the purpose; but his words were few, and his behaviour and temper seemed always composed. What he was in his diversions we know not: here was no room for such things. It was no time for mirth. Neither can I say I ever saw him smile. Those who speak so positively of his being like

King James VII. must excuse me for saying, that it seems to say they either never saw this person, or never saw King James VII; and yet I must not conceal that when we saw the man whom they called our king, we found ourselves not at all animated by his presence; and if he was disappointed in us, we were tenfold more so in him. We saw nothing in him that looked like spirit. He never appeared with cheerfulness and vigour to animate us. Our men began to despise him; some asked if he could speak. His countenance looked extremely heavy. He cared not to come abroad amongst us soldiers, or to see us handle our arms or do our exercise. Some said the circumstances he found us in dejected him. I am sure the figure he made dejected us; and had he sent us but five thousand men of good troops, and never himself come among us, we had done other things than we have now done. At the approach of that crisis when he was to defend his pretensions, and either lose his life or gain a crown, I think, as his affairs were situated, no man can say that his appearing grave and composed was a token of his want of thought, but rather of a significant anxiety grounded upon the prospect of his inevitable ruin, which he could not be so void of sense as not to see plainly before him, at least when he came to see how inconsistent his measures were, how unsteady the resolution of his guides, and how impossible it was to make them agree with one another.”*

The Chevalier returned to Scoon in the evening, and notwithstanding the ominous symptoms of the day, proceeded to form a council preparatory to exercising the functions of royalty. From Scoon he soon issued no less than six proclamations; one for a general thanksgiving for his safe arrival; another enjoining the ministers to pray for him in the churches; a third, establishing the currency of foreign coin; a fourth, ordering a meeting of the convention of estates; a fifth, commanding all fencible men from sixteen to sixty to repair to his standard; and a sixth, fixing the twenty-third day of January for his coronation at Scoon. These assumptions of sovereign authority were, however, of a very evanescent character, as they had scarcely been issued when the Chevalier and his principal friends resolved to abandon the contest as hopeless. Indeed, from the reduced state of the army, and its deficiency in arms and ammunition, a determination had been come to by his party, a month before he landed, to retire from Perth as soon as Argyle should march against it; but being ignorant of that resolution and believing that the insurgents intended to defend Perth, Argyle delayed his advance till he should be joined by large reinforcements from England and Holland.

Though continued in the command of the army, Argyle, for some reason or other, was not a favourite at court. Of his fidelity there could be no suspicion, and his conduct had lately shown that he wanted neither zeal nor ability to perform the task which had been assigned him. It has

* A true account of the proceedings at Perth, by a Rebel.

been conjectured that the leniency which he was disposed to show towards his unfortunate countrymen was the cause of that hidden displeasure which ended in the dismissal of himself and of his brother, the earl of Ilay, from all their employments. The rejection of an application which he made to the government for extended powers to treat with the insurgents after the battle of Sheriffmuir, goes far to support the supposition. But whatever were his views, he appeared to be in no hurry to pursue the insurgents, probably from an idea that they would disperse of their own accord. By the arrival of a body of six thousand Dutch auxiliaries, and other reinforcements from England, Argyle found himself, early in January, at the head of upwards of ten thousand men, besides a large train of artillery. Desirous of expelling the insurgents from Fife before advancing north, a detachment of Dutch and Scotch troops crossed the Frith of Forth by the duke's orders, and under cover of some men-of-war, landed at Burntisland, of which they took possession. On receiving this intelligence the insurgents immediately abandoned all the towns on the north side of the Frith, a circumstance which was attended with serious consequences to their friends at Perth, who were in consequence entirely cut off from their supplies of coals, at an unusually inclement season.

About the end of January, Argyle was in full condition to march north, but the snow, which had fallen to a great depth, appeared to him to offer a formidable obstruction to the march of an army unaccustomed to a winter's campaign; and which, from the insurgents having burnt and destroyed the villages on the road, would have to bivouack two or three nights in the open air, exposed to all the rigours of an hyperborean winter. For these reasons Argyle urged, at a council of war, which was held at Stirling, a postponement of the march; but General Cadogan,* who had been sent down to Scotland to hasten the duke's motions, insisting upon an immediate advance, and having openly accused Argyle of a want of zeal, his Grace made preparations for marching, and to facilitate the transport of his cannon and waggons, issued orders for assembling some thousands of the country people to clear away the snow.

Although the Jacobite leaders had come to the resolution of aban-

* This officer appears to have been very suspicious of Argyle's motives, and did not hesitate to communicate his opinion to his superiors. In a letter to the duke of Marlborough, he says: "Argyle grows so intolerably uneasy, that it is almost impossible to live with him any longer; he is enraged at the success of the expedition, though he and his creatures attribute to themselves the honour of it. When I brought him the news of the rebels having ran from Perth, he seemed thunderstruck; and was so visibly concerned, that even the foreign officers that were in the room took notice of it. . . . Since the rebels quitting Perth, he (Argyle) has sent five or six hundred of his Argyleshire men, who go before the army a day's march, to take possession of the towns the enemy have abandoned, and to plunder and destroy the country, which enrages our soldiers, who are forbid under pain of death to take the value of a farthing, though out of the rebel's houses. Not one of these Argyle-men appeared whilst the rebels were in Perth, and when they might have been of some use."—Coxe's Marlborough, vol. iii. p. 612.

doning Perth as soon as the duke of Argyle should advance upon it, they nevertheless gave indications as if they really meant to hold out. Pursuant to an order of a council, which was held on the sixteenth of January, the most strenuous exertions were made to fortify the town, and both officers and men vied with one another in hastening the completion of the works. What the motives of the leaders may have been in thus practising a deception upon the army, it is impossible to conceive; perhaps the distant hope of being joined by the more remote clans, the chance of some fortunate, though unlooked for, occurrence in the chapter of accidents, or an idea that their men could not be otherwise kept together, may have been the inducing causes of these defensive preparations; but whatever their motives were, the apparent determination shown by the leading men to meet the enemy, had the most beneficial effect upon the army, which evinced a strong desire to engage. In this wish they thought they were to be gratified sooner than they expected, by the arrival of some country people at Perth who brought intelligence that Argyle was advancing with all his cavalry, and four thousand foot mounted on horses. This news was, however, premature, and had originated in the appearance of a reconnoitering party of two hundred dragoons, which Argyle had sent forward on the road to Perth, on the twenty-first of January, and which the fears of the people had magnified into an army.

All doubts, however, were removed in a few days, by the receipt of authentic intelligence at Perth, that Argyle having completed his arrangements, was to leave Stirling for Perth on the twenty-ninth of January, with his whole army. The councillors of the Chevalier were dismayed at this intelligence, but it had quite an opposite effect upon the mass of the army. Nothing was to be heard in the Jacobite camp but the voice of joy and rejoicing, and congratulations, on the supposed happy result of an encounter with the enemy, were exchanged on all sides—between the officers and gentlemen volunteers, and the common soldiers and clansmen. While the former were pledging each other in their cups and drinking to “the good day,” so near at hand, as they thought, which was to crown the Chevalier’s arms with victory, the latter, amid the din of the warlike bagpipe, were to be seen giving each other a cordial shake of the hand as if fully assured of success.

Whilst these congratulatory exhibitions were going on, the councillors of the Chevalier were deliberating upon the course they should pursue; but although they sat during the whole night they could come to no decided resolution. When the irresolution of the council became generally known, the men could not restrain their indignation, and a general opinion began to prevail among them, that they had been betrayed. Impressed with this feeling, they became mutinous, and carried their insubordination so far as to insult the officers, whom they supposed had betrayed them, in the streets, and to load them with reproachful epithets. The gentlemen volunteers also participated in the same sentiments; and

one of them from the higher parts of Aberdeenshire was heard to declare, before a group of malecontents assembled in the street, that the clans should take the person of the Chevalier out of the hands of the weak councillors who surrounded him, adding that he would find ten thousand gentlemen in Scotland who would hazard their lives for him, if he was equally ready as a prince to risk his own life in vindicating his right to the crown. A friend of the earl of Mar, after remonstrating with this party, asked what they wished their officers to do.—“Do,” replied a Highlander, “what did you call us to take arms for? Was it to run away? What did the king come hither for? Was it to see his people butchered by hangmen, and not strike a stroke for their lives? Let us die like men and not like dogs.”*

Amid the confusion and perplexity occasioned by such a state of things, Mar convened another meeting of the council on the evening of the twenty-ninth, at which a resolution to retreat was entered into chiefly at the suggestion of Mar. His reasons for advising an abandonment of the enterprise for the present, were, 1st, the failure of the duke of Ormond’s attempt to invade England; 2dly, the great accession of force which Argyle had received from abroad; and, lastly, the reduced state of the Jacobite forces, which did not exceed four thousand men, and of whom only about two thousand five hundred were properly armed.† Besides these there were, according to the master of Sinclair, other reasons of a private nature which influenced Mar to give the advice he did, the chief of which, says the above-named authority, was that the earl of Seaforth, the marquis of Huntly, and other Jacobites who were in treaty with the government, had basely resolved to deliver up the Chevalier to the duke of Argyle, that they might procure better terms for themselves than they could otherwise expect. This odious charge, so improbable in itself, not being corroborated by any other writer, cannot be admitted.

Before communicating to the army the resolution to retreat, a general meeting of all the officers was held at Scone on the following day, when they were informed of the determination of the previous evening, and of the reasons which had led to it. It was then secretly resolved that the Chevalier and his principal officers should take shipping at Montrose for France, and that the army should be disbanded as soon as it reached the Highlands, or as soon as circumstances permitted; but to save appearances with the men, it was given out, that as Perth was untenable, it became necessary to retire to a stronger position, where they could not only defend themselves, but keep up a more secure and direct communication with their friends in the north. At this time there were three ships lying in the Tay off Dundee, which had lately arrived with supplies from France; and to secure these for the conveyance of the

* True Account of the Proceedings at Perth, by a rebel.

† Mar’s Journal.

Chevalier and his followers, a French officer and clergyman were despatched to Dundee with orders to send them down the coast to Montrose, there to wait his arrival.*

On the return of the officers to the camp, they promulgated the order to retreat to their men, and, as might have been anticipated, it was received with scorn and contempt. Among the Jacobite inhabitants of the town who had shown themselves very zealous in the cause of the Chevalier, the intelligence caused nothing but dismay, as from the prominent and decided part they had taken, they had incurred the penalties of treason against the government. The morning of the thirty-first of January was fixed upon for the retreat, but a body of about eight hundred Highlanders, disliking the aspect of affairs, and displeased with the conduct of the principal officers, quitted Perth the preceding night for the Highlands by way of Dunkeld. Preparatory to his departure, the Chevalier went from Seone to Perth in the evening, and took up his residence in the house of Hay the provost, a staunch Jacobite, where he supped and passed the night. At ten o'clock next morning the rebels began their march across the Tay, which was covered with ice of extraordinary thickness. About noon the whole army had passed, and was on the march to Dundee along the Carse of Gowrie.

Meanwhile, the duke of Argyle was advancing upon Perth as fast as the nature of the difficulties he had to contend with would admit of. He had left Stirling on the twenty-ninth of January, and marched to Dunblane. Next day he advanced as far as Auchterarder, which had been entirely burnt by the rebels. Here they passed the night upon the snow without "any other covering than the fine canopy of heaven."† On the following day a detachment of two hundred dragoons and four hundred foot, which had been sent forward to protect the country people who were engaged in clearing away the snow, took possession of the castle of Tullibardine, the garrison of which had capitulated. The duke of Argyle had resolved to take up his quarters for the night in this fortress; but receiving intelligence that the rebels had retired from Perth that morning, he ordered a party of four hundred dragoons and a thousand foot to hasten forward to take possession of that town. The duke at the head of the dragoons, arrived at Perth about two o'clock in the morning of the first of February; but the foot, which were greatly fatigued, did not come up till ten o'clock. The remainder of the duke's army reached Perth that evening.

The distance from Stirling to Perth is only thirty-four miles, yet such was the obstruction that Argyle's army met with from the snow, that their march occupied three entire days. The difficulties of the march and the privations which his men had suffered by resting two nights on the snow, exposed to all the severities of the weather, had so exhausted

* True Account of the Proceedings at Perth.

† Annals of George I. vol. ii. p. 222.

his men, that it was not till the day after his arrival at Perth that the duke could muster a force sufficiently strong to pursue the enemy.

On the second of February Argyle left Perth at the head of six squadrons of dragoons, three battalions of foot, and eight hundred Highlanders. He stopt at Errol that night, and entered Dundee next day. Having learned that the Chevalier had left Dundee the preceding day on his way to Montrose, the duke sent forward a detachment towards Arbroath, and being joined by the remainder of his army on the fourth of February, he despatched on the same day three battalions of foot, five hundred of his own Highlanders, and fifty dragoons, towards Arbroath, and another detachment of three hundred foot, and fifty dragoons, in the direction of Brechin; but their march was retarded for some time by the snow. On the fifth the duke followed with the remainder of the army; and while he himself, at the head of the cavalry, took the high road to Brechin, General Cadogan with the infantry marched in the direction of Arbroath.

During the retreat to Montrose, suspicions began to be entertained in the Chevalier's army, that it was his intention to embark for France, notwithstanding the assurances of the principal officers to the contrary. The unusual route along the sea-coast gave credence to the rumour; but when they approached Montrose, and saw some French vessels lying at anchor off the shore, their suspicions were confirmed, and the men began to manifest symptoms of discontent. The insurgent army arrived at Montrose on the third of February, where it was intended they should pass the night; but the Chevalier's advisers, alarmed at the murmurings of the troops, ordered them to march the same night towards Aberdeen, where it was given out they meant to make a stand till succours should arrive from abroad. This assurance had the desired effect upon the troops, who accordingly began their march in the expectation that the Chevalier would follow them. To prevent suspicion his horses were ordered to be brought before the door of the house where he lodged at the hour appointed for the march, and his guards were ordered to mount, and to hold themselves in readiness to accompany him.

Meanwhile the Chevalier was busily employed in making the necessary preparations for his approaching departure. To relieve his memory from the imputation of having voluntarily abandoned the brave men who had taken up arms in his cause, it is due to him to state that he had been all along opposed to such a step, and it was not until he had been repeatedly and earnestly urged by his friends that he could be prevailed upon to give his consent to retire beyond seas. He said he was ready to suffer every hardship, and expose himself to every danger, rather than abandon those who had risked their all in his service; but being assured, in the opinion of his friends, that the course they advised might be ultimately beneficial to both, he reluctantly yielded to their entreaties. His principal motive for acceding to their wishes was the consid-

eration that, if relieved from his presence, the government might be disposed to give better terms to his followers than they would be otherwise disposed to grant.*

Before his departure he ordered a commission to be drawn up, by which he appointed General Gordon commander-in-chief, with all necessary powers, and particularly with authority to treat with the enemy. He wrote, at the same time, a paper containing his reasons for leaving the kingdom, and along with which he delivered to the general all the money in his possession, (excepting a small sum which he reserved for defraying the expenses of himself and suite,) with instructions, after paying the army, to apply the residue in indemnifying the inhabitants of the villages which had been burned, for the losses sustained by them. At the same time the Chevalier put the following letter to the duke of Argyle, which he had dictated to a secretary, into the hands of General Gordon, respecting the appropriation of the money so left. It is an interesting document, and exhibits the humanity of the prince in a favourable point of view:—

“ FOR THE DUKE OF ARGIL.

“ *Monross, 4th February, 1716.*

“ It was the view of delivering this my ancient kingdom from the hardship it lay under, and restoring it to its former happiness and independency, that brought me into this country; and all hopes of effectuating that at this time being taken from me, I have been reduced much against my inclination, but by a cruel necessity, to leave the kingdom with as many of my faithful subjects as were desirous to follow me, or I able to carry with me, that so at least I might secure them from the utter destruction that threatens them, since that was the only way left me to show them the regard I had for, and the sense I had of their unparalleled loyalty.

“ Among the manifold mortifications I have had in this unfortunate expedition, that of being forced to burn several villages, &c. as the only expedient left me for the publick security, was not the smallest. It was indeed forced upon me by the violence with which my rebellious subjects acted against me, and what they, as the first authors of it, must be answerable for, not I: however, as I cannot think of leaving this country without making some provision to repair that loss, I have, therefore, consigned to the magistrates of ——— the sum of ———, desiring and requiring of you, if not as an obedient subject, at least as a lover of your country, to take care that it be employed to the designed use, that I may at least have the satisfaction of having been the destruction and ruin of none, at a time I came to free all. Whether you have

* Mar's Journal.

yet received my letter,* or what effect it hath had upon you, I am as yet ignorant of; but what will become of these unhappy nations is but too plaine. I have neglected nothing to render them a free and prosperous people; and I fear they will find yet more than I the smart of preferring a foreign yolk to that obedience they owe me; and what must those who have so obstinately resisted both my right and my clemency have to answer for? But however things turn, or Providence is pleased to dispose of me, I shall never abandon my just right, nor the pursuits of it, but with my life; and beseech God so to turn at last the hearts of my subjects, as that they may enjoy peace and happiness by submitting to what their interest and duty equally require of them. As for your own particular, you might, if you had pleased, joined interest and greatness in your own person; but, though you have refused to do that, I must earnestly request of you to do at least all in your power to save your country from utter ruin, and to be just at least to them, since you are it not to me.

“† I thought to write this in my own hand, but had not time.

“JAMES R.”

This letter was accompanied by a note of the following letter to General Gordon, written in the Chevalier's own hand:—

* It is presumed this is the letter alluded to in a conversation between Lockhart of Carnwath, and Captain Dougall Campbell, who is represented by him as “a person of great worth and loyalty, and a bosome friend of Argyle's.” “Being with me (says Lockhart) at my country house, he (Campbell) askt me if I heard Argyle blam'd for having received and given no answer to a letter writt to him by the king whilst he was at Perth. I told him I had, but could not agree with those who censured him, for I had such an abhorrence of breach of trust, that had I been the duke's adviser, it should have been to doe as he did; for tho there was nothing I so much desired as to see him engaged in the king's cause, I wisht it done in a way consistent with his honour. Captain Campbell smiled and told me, he was to acquaint me of a secret which he must previously have my solemn word I would communicate to none, which he had given when it was revealed to him, having however obtained liberty afterwards to speak of it to me. After giving him the assurance he demanded, he told me that the letter was not delivered to the duke, for in his late Highland progress, he saw it and another to Lord Isla in the hands of the person to whose care they were committed, (but who that person was he would not tell me), who receiving them unseal'd, did not, after perusal, think it for the king's service to deliver them, that to the duke being writt in a style by no means to be approved of; ‘and, indeed,’ added Campbell, ‘when I read them, I was entirely of the same mind, and could not but think that Mar or some other person, with a view of rather widening than healing the breaches, had prevail'd with the king to write after that manner.’ The letter to Isla was writt as to a man of business, insisting on the unhappy state of Scotland, and that nothing but a dissolution of the union by the king's restoration, could prevent the utter ruin of that country. That to the duke did invite him to return to his loyalty and duty, threatening him, if he neglected, with revenge and the utter extirpation of his family, for what he and his predecessors had done in this and the last century. I doe not pretend to narrate the precise words of this letter, nor did Campbell mention them as such to me; however, I have narrated what he said was the aim and purport of the letter.”—Lockhart Papers, vol. ii. p. 14, 15.

† What follows is in the Chevalier's own hand-writing. The original document is in the Fingask family; of course, it had never been delivered to the duke.

“ General Gordon is hereby empowered, as soon as he has no other further occasion for the money left in his hands for the subsistence of the troops, to forward, if he thinks fitt, the enclosed letter to the duke of Argil, and to fill up the blanks of my letter with the name of the town where he shall leave the money, and the summ he shall leave.

“ JAMES R.”

It was not until the eve of his departure that James thought of selecting the persons he wished to accompany him in his flight, but the near approach of the enemy, of whose motions he had just received intelligence, and the murmurings and jealousies of his troops compelling him to hasten his departure, he was narrowed in his choice, as some of the friends, whose presence he desired, were at some distance from Montrose. The first individual he pitched upon was Mar; but the earl begged that he might be left behind with the army. The Chevalier, however, insisted that he should go; and on representing to him that reasons almost equally strong existed for Mar's departure as for his own, that his friends would make better terms with the government without him than with him, and that his services could be of no use in Scotland under existing circumstances, he gave his consent.

Matters being adjusted, the Chevalier left his lodgings privately about nine o'clock of the evening of the fourth of February, accompanied only by one of his domestics, and having met Mar at his lodgings, they both proceeded by a private way to the beach, where a boat was lying in readiness to receive them, and in which they were carried on board a small French vessel which lay at a little distance from the shore. The boat was immediately sent back, and returned in about a quarter of an hour with the earl of Melfort, Lord Drummond, and the remainder of the Chevalier's suite. Being favoured with a fresh breeze from the west-south-west, the vessel stood directly out to sea, and after a voyage of five days, arrived in safety at Waldam, near Gravelines in French Flanders.

The insurgents under General Gordon marched to Aberdeen, which they entered on the morning of the sixth of February. Here he communicated to his men the paper of instructions he had received from the Chevalier, and which he informed them he had received orders not to open till their arrival at Aberdeen. In this writing the prince complained of the disappointments he had met with, particularly from abroad, and informed the army of the necessity he was under, for his own preservation, to leave the country. He thanked them for having entered so cheerfully into his service, and imputed the failure of the enterprise to the apathy of others, who had not seconded their efforts as they had promised to do. He advised them to consult their own safety by keeping together in a body under General Gordon till he should order them to disperse, and concluded by encouraging them to hope for better times.

After reading this document, the General notified to his men that their pay would cease after that day.

General Cadogan arrived at Montrose in the afternoon of the fifth of February with three regiments of foot, and six hundred of Argyle's Highlanders, and the duke reached Brechin with the dragoons the same night. The whole royalist forces continued their march the following day towards Aberdeen, but they could not overtake the insurgents who were nearly two days' march in advance. The latter left Aberdeen on the seventh, and the duke of Argyle entered it the following day at the head of four hundred dragoons. The main body of the insurgents, chiefly foot, marched in the direction of Old Meldrum, but a party of about two hundred horse, among whom were many officers and gentlemen volunteers, took the route to Peterhead, where some vessels were lying to carry them to France. The duke of Argyle, without waiting for the coming up of the rest of his army, immediately sent two hundred dragoons, and a party of foot under Major-General Evans, to cut off the retreat of the latter, but he did not overtake them. Upwards of a hundred of the gentlemen composing this party escaped to France.

Meanwhile the insurgents continued their march westwards into Moray, and after marching through Strathspey, retired into Badenoch, where they quietly dispersed. During their retreat, however, many, whose houses lay contiguous to their route, gradually withdrew from the ranks, so that before their arrival in Badenoch a considerable reduction had taken place in their numbers. Though closely pursued by Argyle's troops, the insurgents did not lose a hundred men during the whole retreat, so well and orderly was it conducted by the Jacobite commander.

After the dispersion of the insurgents, about one hundred and sixty officers and gentlemen-volunteers who had followed the army into the Highlands, hearing that two French frigates, destined to receive on board such of the adherents of the Chevalier as might be inclined to retire abroad, had arrived off the Orkney coast, sallied from the hills on horseback, and crossing the low country of Moray embarked in boats at Burgh-head, and landed in Caithness. From Caithness they proceeded to the Orkney islands, where they had the good fortune to reach the French ships which carried them to Gottenburg. Among this party were Lord Duffus, who, being a seaman, entered into the naval service of the king of Sweden, Sir George Sinclair, Sir David Threipland of Fingask, and General Eckline. Most of these refugees entered into the Swedish army then about to invade Norway.

Thus ended an enterprise badly contrived, and conducted throughout without sufficient judgment or energy. Yet notwithstanding the disadvantages under which it was attempted, it might have succeeded, if the efforts of the Scottish Jacobites had been seconded by the Jacobites of England; but the latter, though decidedly hostile to the House of

Brunswick, were not inclined to risk their lives and fortunes in a doubtful contest, in support of the pretensions of a prince known to them only by name, and to whose religion many of them felt a deep-rooted repugnance.

CHAPTER XV.

Return of the Duke of Argyle to Edinburgh—Trial of Lord Charles Murray and others—Execution of Major Nairne, Captain Lockhart, and others—Impeachment and trial of the Jacobite Peers taken at Preston—Ineffectual applications for mercy—Proceedings in parliament—Address to the King in behalf of the condemned Lords by the House of Peers—Dismissal from office of Peers who supported the petition of the Jacobite Lords—Escape of the Earl of Nithsdale—Execution of the Earl of Derwentwater and Viscount Kenmure—Trial and condemnation of the Earl of Winton—Escapes to France—Bills of high treason against Brigadier Mackintosh and others—Escape of Mackintosh, Forster, and others—Executions in London and Lancashire—Reaction against the government—Septennial act—Proceedings of General Cadogan in the Highlands—Commission of Oyer and Terminer—Act of grace—Dismissal of the duke of Argyle from office—Continental affairs—Plan of an invasion by Russia and Sweden—Rupture with Spain—Intrigues of the Jacobites at Madrid—Spanish invasion threatened—Sailing and dispersion of the Spanish fleet—Landing and surrender of a body of Spaniards in the western Highlands.

AFTER the flight and dispersion of the insurgents, the duke of Argyle returned to Edinburgh about the end of February, where he was magnificently entertained by the magistrates of the city, whence he set off for London on the first of March. He had left instructions with General Cadogan to keep up a communication with the Whig leaders in the north, and to distribute the troops in quarters contiguous to the adjoining Highlands, that they might be the more readily assembled to repress any fresh insurrection which might break out. To keep some of the disaffected districts in check, parties of Highlanders were placed by Lord Lovat and Brigadier Grant, in Brahan castle, and in Erchles and Borlum; the former the seat of the Chisholm, the latter that of Brigadier Mackintosh.

The fate of the prisoners taken at Preston remains now to be told. The first who were tried were Lord Charles Murray, Captain Dalziel, brother to the earl of Carnwath, Major Nairne, Captain Philip Lockhart,* brother to Lockhart of Carnwath, Captain Shaftoe, and Ensign

* Mr Lockhart, alluding to the fate of his brother, feelingly observes, "I lost a brother who, had he lived, had been a credit to his country, being a person of great worth and merit. And I may be indulged so far as to be allowed to do some little justice to his memory, by taking notice that he died like a saint and hero. For at his tryall he told his judges that he was no officer under ther king, for the half-pay which he received was only a recompence which the parliament thought fit to give him on account of his having faithfully served Queen Anne, and therefore he was not legally subject to a court-martial. — When he was led out to the place of execution, the officers of the other side who were his old companions, owned he walked with the same lively genteel air as he used at the head of his company, and having told them he was never afraid of powder, and much less now in so good a cause, he declined tying a napkin over his face; and baving with great devotion recommended himself to God, he cocked his hat, and calling on them to do ther last, he look'd death and his murderers in the face, and received the shots which put an end to his dayes in the twenty-fifth year of his age."—*Memoirs*, vol. i. p. 466-7.

Nairne. These six were tried before a court-martial at Preston, and all, with the exception of Captain Dalziel, having been proved to have been officers in the service of government, were condemned to be shot. Lord Charles Murray received a pardon through the interest of his friends. The remainder suffered on the second of December, seventeen hundred and fifteen.

The English parliament met on the ninth of January. Immediately on the return of the commons from the house of lords, where they had been hearing the speech from the throne, they agreed, on the motion of Mr Lechmere, to impeach Lords Derwentwater, Nithsdale, Wintoun, Carnwath, and Kenmure, of high treason. The articles of impeachment were carried up to the lords the same night, and on the next day these peers were brought to the bar of the house of lords to hear the articles of impeachment read. They were brought back from the Tower on the nineteenth, when they all pleaded guilty to the charge of high treason, except the earl of Wintoun, who petitioned for a longer time to give in his answers. The rest received sentence of death on the ninth of February, in Westminster-hall. The countess of Nithsdale and Lady Nairne surprised the king as he was passing through his apartments at St James's, and throwing themselves at his feet implored his mercy in behalf of their husbands; but he turned away from them with contemptuous indifference. The countess of Derwentwater was equally unsuccessful, though introduced by the dukes of Richmond and St Albans into the king's bed-chamber, and accompanied by the duchesses of Cleveland and Bolton.

This refusal on the part of the king, raised up a number of advocates in both houses of parliament, in behalf of the unfortunate noblemen. Availing themselves of this feeling, the ladies of the condemned lords, accompanied by about twenty others of equal rank, waited in the lobby of the house of peers, and at the door of the house of commons, and solicited the intercession of both houses. Next day they petitioned the houses. The commons rejected the application, and to get quit of further importunity adjourned for six or seven days, by a small majority; but the result was different in the house of lords. Petitions, craving the intercession of that house, were presented from the condemned peers, which being read, after considerable opposition, a motion was made to address his majesty to grant them a reprieve. This occasioned a warm debate; but before the vote was taken, an amendment was proposed to the effect, that his majesty should reprieve such of the peers as should seem to deserve his mercy. It was contended by the supporters of the original address, that the effect of this amendment would be to destroy the nature of the address, as from the nature of the sentence which had been passed, none of the condemned peers could *deserve* mercy; but the amendment was substituted, and on the vote being taken, whether the address should be presented, it was carried *present*, by a majority of five votes. It is said that on one of the peers afterwards

observing to the mover of the amendment, that it looked as if its object was to defeat the vote, and make it of no use to the persons for whose benefit it was intended, the proposer observed, that such was his intention in moving it.*

The king was evidently chagrined at the conduct of the house, and when the address was presented, he informed the deputation, that on this as on all other occasions he would do what he thought most consistent with the dignity of the crown, and the safety of his people. The earl of Nottingham, president of the council, who had supported the petitions of the condemned lords, together with Lord Aylesford, his brother, chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster, Lord Finch, his son, one of the lords of the treasury, and Lord Guernsey, master of the jewel office, were all removed from office; and to show the determination of the king, orders were issued on the same day the address was delivered, for executing the earls of Derwentwater and Nithsdale, and Viscount Kenmure the following day. The other three peers were reprieved to the seventh of March. The earl of Nithsdale made his escape the night before the execution, dressed in female attire, which his mother, and some other ladies who paid him a visit, had provided. When the king heard of his escape next morning, he observed, that "it was the best thing a man in his condition could have done."†

On the morning of the twenty-fourth of February the earl of Derwentwater and Viscount Kenmure were beheaded on Tower-hill. On ascending the scaffold, Derwentwater knelt down, and having spent some time in prayer, he got up, and drawing a paper out of his pocket, read aloud as follows:—

"Being in a few minutes to appear before the tribunal of God, where, though most unworthy, I hope to find mercy, which I have not found from men now in power: I have endeavoured to make my peace with his Divine Majesty, by most humbly begging pardon for all the sins of my life: And I doubt not of a merciful forgiveness through the merits of the passion and death of my Saviour, Jesus Christ; for which end I earnestly desire the prayers of all good Christians.

"After this I am to ask pardon of those whom I might have scandalized by pleading guilty at my trial. Such as were permitted to come to me, told me, that having been undeniably in arms, pleading guilty was but the consequence of having submitted to mercy; and many arguments were used to prove that there was nothing of moment in so doing; among others, the universal practice of signing leases, whereof the preambles run in the name of the person in possession.

"But I am sensible that in this I have made bold with my loyalty, having never any other but King James the Third for my rightful and lawful sovereign; him I had an inclination to serve from my infancy, and was moved thereto by a natural love I had to his person, knowing

* Annals of the 2d year of George I. p. 248.

† State Trials, vol. xv.

him to be capable of making his people happy : and though he had been of a different religion from mine, I should have done for him all that lay in my power, as my ancestors have done for his predecessors ; being thereunto bound by the laws of God and man.

“ Wherefore, if in this affair I have acted rashly, it ought not to affect the innocent. I intended to wrong no body, but to serve my king and country, and that without self-interest ; hoping by the example I gave, to have induced others to their duty ; and God, who sees the secrets of my heart, knows I speak truth. Some means have been proposed to me for saving my life, which I looked upon as inconsistent with honour and conscience, and therefore I rejected them ; for with God’s assistance I shall prefer any death to the doing a base unworthy action. I only wish now that the laying down my life might contribute to the service of my king and country, and the re-establishment of the ancient and fundamental constitution of these kingdoms, without which no lasting peace or true happiness can attend them ; then I should indeed part with life even with pleasure : As it is, I can only pray that those blessings may be bestowed upon my dear country ; and, since I can do no more, I beseech God to accept of my life as a small sacrifice towards it.

“ I die a Roman Catholic : I am in perfect charity with all the world ; I thank God for it, even with those of the present government, who are most instrumental in my death. I freely forgive such as ungenerously reported false things of me ; and I hope to be forgiven the trespasses of my youth by the Father of infinite mercy, into whose hand I commend my soul.

“ JA. DERWENTWATER.

“ P.S. If that prince who now governs had given me my life, I should have thought myself obliged never more to have taken up arms against him.”

After he had finished reading the paper, he delivered it to the sheriff in attendance, who had requested it, and then repeated several penitential portions of scripture. Turning to the executioner, who solicited his forgiveness, he told him that he forgave all his enemies, even the most malicious of them, with all his heart, and that he forgave him. He thereupon informed the executioner that he would find something he intended for him in his pocket, (two half broad pieces,) and that he would receive something additional from a gentleman who held the earl’s hat and wig. He then viewed the block, and observing a rough place in it, he desired the executioner to chip it off. The extraordinary presence of mind which he displayed astonished the spectators. He knelt a second time and prayed, and on rising up pulled off his coat and waistcoat. After telling the executioner that the sign he should give was, “ Lord Jesus receive my soul,” and that on his repeating these words the third time he was to do his office, the earl laid his head upon the block, which, on the given signal, was severed from his body at one blow.

The executioner, lifting up the head, raised it with both his hands, and walking round the scaffold, cried with a loud voice, "Behold the head of a traitor; God save King George."*

Thus perished, in the flower of his age, James, earl of Derwentwater, a man of the most amiable disposition, "brave, open, generous, hospitable, and humane. His fate drew tears from the spectators, and was a great misfortune to the country in which he lived. He gave bread to multitudes of people whom he employed on his estate; the poor, the widow, and the orphan, rejoiced in his bounty."† It is almost impossible to contemplate, even at this distance of time, the unhappy fate of such a man without the deepest emotion. It was reported that the night before his execution he sent for an undertaker to arrange his funeral, whom he requested to put a silver plate on his coffin, with an inscription importing that he died a sacrifice for his lawful sovereign, but the undertaker refusing to execute the commission was thereupon dismissed.‡

As soon as the remains of the earl of Derwentwater were removed, the Viscount Kenmure was brought up to the scaffold. He was accompanied by several friends and two clergymen of the church of England, of which church he was a member. He also displayed great firmness and resolution, and spent some time in earnest prayer, in which his friends and the clergymen joined. He observed, that he had so little thoughts of dying so soon that he had not provided a black suit, that he was sorry for this, as he might have died with more decency. Like Derwentwater, he expressed his regret for pleading guilty to the charge of high treason, and prayed for "King James." At taking a last farewell of his friends he embraced them all most tenderly. He presented the executioner with eight guineas, and, after trying the block by laying down his head upon it, told him that he would not give him any sign, but when he laid down his head again he might execute his office as he saw fit. After praying a short time with uplifted hands, he advanced to the fatal block, and laying down his head, the executioner struck it off at two blows. He thereupon exposed it to the view of the spectators, using the same exclamation as before. Lord Kenmure brought no paper to the scaffold with him, but shortly after his death a letter which he had written to the Chevalier was published, wherein he declared that he died for his faithful services to him, but hoped the cause he died for would flourish after his death. In this letter he maintained the title of "the person called the Pretender, whom he believed to be the true son of James the Second." §

The earl of Wintoun, on various frivolous pretences, got his trial

* Annals of 2d year of George I. p. 250, *et. seq.* Faithful Register of the late Rebellion, p. 87, *et. seq.*

† Smollet's History of England, vol. ii. book ii. chap. i.

‡ Annals of 2d year of George I. p. 253.

§ State Trials, vol. xv.

postponed till the fifteenth day of March, when he was brought finally up for trial. The earl, after a trial which occupied two days, was found guilty, and received sentence of death; but his lordship afterwards made his escape from the Tower and fled to France.

On the seventh of April a commission for trying the other rebels met in the court of Common Pleas, Westminster, when bills of high treason were found against Mr Forster, Brigadier Mackintosh, Colonel Oxburgh, Mr Menzies of Culdares, and seven of their associates, and on the tenth bills were found against eleven more. Forster escaped from Newgate, and so well had his friends concerted matters, that he reached Calais in less than twenty-four hours. The trials of Brigadier Mackintosh and others were fixed for the fourth of May, but about eleven o'clock the preceding night, the brigadier and fifteen other prisoners broke out of Newgate, after knocking down the keepers and disarming the sentinels. Eight were retaken, but Mackintosh and seven others escaped. The trials of the prisoners who remained proceeded: many of them were found guilty; and five, among whom were Colonel Oxburgh and Mr Paul, a non-jurant clergyman of the church of England, were hanged, drawn, and quartered, at Tyburn. Twenty-two prisoners were executed in Lancashire. The remainder of the prisoners taken at Preston, amounting to upwards of seven hundred, submitted to the king's mercy, and having prayed for transportation, were sold as slaves to some West India merchants; a cruel proceeding, when it is considered that the greater part of these men were Highlanders, who had joined in the insurrection in obedience to the commands of their chiefs.

The severities exercised by the government, and the courage and fortitude displayed by the unfortunate sufferers, wrought an extraordinary change in the dispositions of the people, who began to manifest great dissatisfaction at proceedings so revolting to humanity. Though the rebellion was extinguished, the spirit which had animated it still remained; and the Tories longed for an opportunity of availing themselves of the universal dissatisfaction to secure a majority favourable to their views at the next general election. The Whigs, afraid of the result of an early election as destructive to themselves as a party and to the liberties of the country, had recourse to a bold measure, which nothing but the most urgent necessity could justify. This was no other than a plan to repeal the triennial act, and to prolong the duration of parliament. It is said that at first they intended to suspend the triennial act for one election only, but thinking that a temporary measure would appear a greater violation of constitutional law than a permanent one, they resolved to extend the duration of parliament to seven years. A bill was accordingly brought into the house of lords on the tenth of April by the duke of Devonshire, whose father had been one of the chief promoters of the triennial act.

The reasons on which the bill were grounded, were stated in the preamble of the bill. In the first place it was stated, that the triennial

act had proved "very grievous and burdensome, by occasioning much greater and more continued expenses, in order to elections of members to serve in parliament, and more violent and lasting heats and animosities among the subjects of this realm, than were ever known before the said clause was enacted;" and secondly, that if continued, it might probably "at this juncture, when a restless and Popish faction are designing and endeavouring to renew the rebellion within this kingdom, and an invasion from abroad, be destructive to the peace and security of the government."

The bill was supported by the earls of Dorset and Rockingham, the duke of Argyle, Lord Townshend, and others. On the second reading a long debate ensued, when the bill was opposed by the whole strength of the Tory party. On a division, the commitment was carried by ninety-six votes to sixty-one. So great was the interest excited by the debate, that the house of lords was crowded with strangers, among whom were the princess of Wales, a number of ladies of rank, many members of the house of commons, and several foreigners of distinction.

After the resolution to commit the bill had been adopted, a protest was entered, signed by thirty peers, to which protest they annexed their reasons. As the repeal of the septennial act may soon become a subject of discussion in the reformed parliament, it is thought that the grounds urged against its adoption will not be unacceptable to the general reader. These are as follow :

"1. Because we conceive that frequent and new parliaments are required by the fundamental constitution of the kingdom, and the practice thereof for many ages, (which manifestly appears by our records,) is a sufficient evidence and proof of this constitution.

"2. Because it is agreed that the house of commons must be chosen by the people, and when so chosen, they are truly the representatives of the people, which they cannot be so properly said to be when continued for a longer time than that for which they were chosen; for after that time they are chosen by the parliament and not by the people, who are thereby deprived of the only remedy which they have against those who either do not understand, or through corruption, do wilfully betray the trust reposed in them, which remedy is to choose better men in their places.

"3. Because the reasons given for this bill we conceive were not sufficient to induce us to pass it, in subversion of so essential a part of our constitution.

"1. For as to the argument that this will encourage the princes and states of Europe to enter into alliances with us, we have not heard any one minister assert that any one prince or state has asked, or so much as insinuated that they wished such an alteration.

"Nor is it reasonable to imagine it; for it cannot be expected that any prince or state can rely upon a people to defend their liberties and interests, who shall be thought to have given up so great a part of their

own; nor can it be prudent for them to wish such an experiment after the experience that Europe has had of the great things this nation has done for them, under the constitution which is to be altered by this bill.

“But on the other hand, they may be deterred from entering into measures with us, when they shall be informed, by the preamble of this bill, that the popish faction is so dangerous as that it may be destructive to the peace and security of the government; and may apprehend from this bill, that the government is so weak as to want so extraordinary a provision for its safety, which seems to imply that the gentlemen of Britain are not to be trusted or relied upon; and that the good affections of the people are restrained to so small a number, as that of which the present house of commons consists.

“2. We conceive this bill is so far from preventing expenses and corruptions, that it will rather increase them; for the longer a parliament is to last, the more valuable to be purchased is a station in it, and the greater also is the danger of corrupting the members of it; for if there should be a ministry who shall want a parliament to screen them from the just resentment of the people, or from a discovery of their ill practices to the king, who cannot otherwise, or so truly, be informed of them as by a free parliament. It is so much the interest of such a ministry to influence the elections, (which, by their authority and the disposal of the public money, they, of all others, have the best means of doing,) that it is to be feared they will be tempted, and not fail, to make use of them; and even when the members are chosen, they have a greater opportunity of inducing every man to comply with them than they could have, if not only the sessions of parliament, but the parliament itself, were reduced to the ancient and primitive constitution and practice of frequent and new parliaments; for as a good ministry will neither practise nor need corruption, so it cannot be any lord's intent to provide for the security of a bad one.

“3. We conceive, that whatever reasons may induce the lords to pass this bill, to continue this parliament for seven years, will be at least as strong, and may, by the conduct of the ministry, be made much stronger before the end of seven years for continuing it still longer, and even to perpetuate it, which would be an express and absolute subversion of the third estate of the realm.”

On the sixteenth of April the bill was read a third time, and passed by a majority of sixty-nine votes to thirty-six. Twenty-four peers thereupon entered another protest. The bill was carried down to the house of commons by two of the judges on the nineteenth. Though favourable to the bill, Mr Lechmere opposed its introduction on the ground that it should have originated in the house of commons. He said he considered the bill as an imposition upon the commons, as the lords had taken upon them to direct the house in an affair which wholly belonged to the commons, who were the guardians of the rights and liberties of the people. The first reading was, however, carried in

a house of four hundred and thirty members by a majority of one hundred and twenty votes.

Before the second reading, petitions were presented against the measure from the boroughs of Marlborough, Midhurst, Abingdon, Newcastle-under-Line, from the town of Hastings, and the corporation of Cambridge. More would have been presented if time had been allowed. The apathy of the people at this crisis is astonishing. On a division on the second reading, there appeared two hundred and eighty-four for the bill, and one hundred and sixty-two against it. The bill was read a third time on the twenty-sixth of April, when some additional petitions were presented against it, and passed by a majority of one hundred and forty-three votes in a house of three hundred and eighty-five members. This bill received the royal assent on the seventh of May, on which day an act of attainder against the Earl Marischal, Seaforth, Southesk, Panmure, and others, also received his majesty's sanction. An act of attainder against the earl of Mar, the marquis of Tullibardine, the earl of Linlithgow, Lord Drummond, and other leaders of the insurrection, had received the royal assent on the seventeenth of February preceding. Besides these bills, three others were passed, one attainting Mr Forster and Brigadier Mackintosh; another for more effectually securing the peace of the Highlands; a third appointing commissioners to inquire into the estates of those persons who had been attainted or convicted.

While the parliament was thus engaged in devising measures for maintaining the public tranquillity, General Cadogan was employed in dispersing some hostile bands of the Clans which still continued to assemble with their chiefs in the remoter parts of the Highlands. Hearing that the earl of Seaforth had retired into the island of Lewis, where he had collected a considerable body of his men under the command of Brigadier Campbell of Ormudel, an officer who had just arrived from Muscovy, where he had served in the army of the Czar, he sent a detachment into the island under the command of Colonel Cholmondely to reduce it. The earl, on the appearance of this force, crossed into Ross-shire, whence he escaped to France; and Campbell being abandoned by his men after he had formed them in order of battle, was taken prisoner while standing in a charging posture. Another detachment under Colonel Clayton, was sent into the isle of Skye, where Sir Donald Macdonald was at the head of about a thousand men; but the chief made no resistance, and having no assurance of protection from the government in case of a surrender, retired into one of the Uists, where he remained till he obtained a ship which carried him to France. About this time three ships arrived among the western islands from France with military supplies for the use of the insurgents, but they came too late to be of any service. Two of them, after taking seventy gentlemen on board, immediately returned to France, and the third, which carried fifty chests of small arms, and fifteen barrels of

gunpowder, and other military stores, was captured while at anchor near Uist by an English ship of war.

In consequence of instructions from government, General Cadogan issued an order, which was intimated at the different parish churches in the north, requiring the rebels to surrender themselves and to deliver up their arms, assuring them, that such of them as complied should have liberty granted to return home in safety, but threatening to punish rigorously those who refused to comply. This order was generally obeyed by the common people in the Lowlands, who had been engaged in the insurrection; but few of the Highlanders seemed to regard it. To enforce compliance, he despatched different detachments through the Highlands, and took up his quarters at Blair Athol, where he could more easily communicate with the disaffected districts. He next removed to Ruthven in Badenoch, and afterwards proceeded to Inverness, where he received Glengary's submission. Lochiel, Keppoch, and Clanranald, had resolved to oppose by force the delivery of their arms; but on hearing that Clayton, who had returned from Skye, had resolved to march from Fortwilliam to Lochiel's house to disarm the Camerons, these chiefs retired, and their men delivered up their arms without resistance. Having succeeded in disarming the Highlands, the general left Inverness on the twenty-seventh of April, leaving General Sabine in command, and proceeded to London. The rebellion being now considered completely extinguished, the Dutch auxiliaries were withdrawn from Scotland, and in a short time thereafter were embarked for Holland.

To try the prisoners confined in the castles of Edinburgh, Stirling, Blackness, and other places in Scotland, a commission of oyer and terminer was appointed to sit at Carlisle in December, seventeen hundred and sixteen. There were nearly seventy arraigned. Of twenty-nine who were brought to trial, twenty-five pled guilty. Brigadier Campbell of Ormudel, Tulloch of Tannachie, Stewart of Foss, and Stewart of Glenbuckie, entered a plea of not guilty. The two last having satisfied the solicitor-general of their innocence, he allowed a writ of *noli prosequi* to be entered in their behalf, and Campbell having escaped from the castle of Carlisle, Tulloch alone stood his trial, but he was acquitted. Sentence of death was passed upon the twenty-five who had admitted their guilt, and thirty-six were discharged for want of evidence; but the sentence of death was never put into execution. It was wise in the government to pacify the national disaffection by showing mercy.

Following up the same humane view, an act of grace was passed in seventeen hundred and seventeen by the king and both houses of parliament, granting a free and general pardon to all persons who had committed any treasonable offences, before the sixth day of May of that year, with the exception of those who, having committed such offences, had gone beyond the seas, and who, before the said sixth day of May, had returned into Great Britain or Ireland without his majesty's license,

or who should on or after the said day return into either of the kingdoms without such license. All persons of the name and clan of Macgregor mentioned in the act of the first parliament of Charles the First, intituled, "Anent the Clan-Gregor," were also excepted, as well as all such persons as should, on the fifth day of May, seventeen hundred and seventeen, remain attainted for high treason. But all such persons so attainted, unless specially named, and who had not escaped out of prison, were freely pardoned and discharged. Under this act the earl of Carnwath, and Lords Widdrington and Nairne, were delivered from the Tower: seventeen persons confined in Newgate, the prisoners still remaining in the castles of Lancaster and Carlisle; and those in the castles of Edinburgh and Stirling, and other places in Scotland, including the Lords Strathallan and Rollo, were likewise released.

While the Chevalier was preparing to embark for Scotland, the earl of Stair, (the ambassador at the court of France,) had used every effort to prevent him. Duclos and others say that Stair not only applied to the duke of Orleans, the regent, to have the Chevalier arrested, but that finding the regent insincere in his promises of compliance, he sent persons to assassinate the Chevalier on the road when crossing France to embark for Scotland. That Stair made such an application, and that he employed spies to watch the progress of the prince, are circumstances highly probable; but both Marshal Berwick and the earl of Mar discredited the last part of the story, as they considered Stair incapable of ordering an action so atrocious as the assassination of the prince.*

On the return of the Chevalier, Stair, afraid that he and his partizans in France would intrigue with the court, presented a memorial to the regent in name of his Britannic majesty, in which, after notifying the flight of the Chevalier, and the dispersion of his forces, he requested of the regent that he would oblige the prince to quit France. He next insisted that "the authors and chiefs" of the rebellion who had retired to France should be ordered to depart forthwith from France, that they should never again be permitted to return to that country, and that the other persons who had been condemned and declared rebels should not at any time enter or reside therein. The earl also solicited his royal highness to join with his Britannic majesty, in an application to the duke of Lorraine to prohibit the Chevalier from returning into his territory. Finally, as the regent had made a declaration, that the officers in the service of France who should follow "the Pretender" in the invasion of Great Britain should be broke, the king of Great Britain persuaded himself that his royal highness, the regent, would not suffer the officers who had followed and assisted the prince ever to be employed again in the service of France. The removal of the Jacobite exiles from the French court was all that the earl could at that time obtain from the regent. By an agreement, however, which was shortly

* Mem. de Berwick, tome ii.

thereafter entered into between France and England, mutually guaranteeing the succession to the crown of France, and the Hanover succession according to the provisions of the treaty of Utrecht, it was stipulated that the Pretender should be sent beyond the Alps, and should never be allowed to return again to France or Lorraine on any pretence whatever, and that none of the rebellious subjects of Great Britain should be allowed to reside in France.

After the suppression of the insurrection, the leading supporters of government in Scotland repaired to London to congratulate George the First on the success of his arms, and to obtain the rewards they expected. The duke of Argyle, to whose exertions chiefly the king was indebted for his peaceable accession to the throne, and the extinction of the rebellion, was already so overloaded with favours that he could scarcely expect any addition to be made to them, and would probably have been contented with those he had obtained; but the squadron party which had been long endeavouring to ruin him, now made every exertion to get him disgraced; and being assisted by the Marlborough faction, and a party which espoused the interests of Cadogan, they succeeded with the king, who dismissed the duke and his brother, the earl of Illy, from all their employments, which were conferred on others. General Carpenter, to whom the success at Preston was entirely ascribed, succeeded Argyle in the chief command of the forces in North Britain; and the duke of Montrose was appointed lord-register of Scotland in the room of the earl of Illy.

The aspect of affairs in the north of Europe requiring the king's presence in his German dominions, an act was passed repealing the clause in the act for the further limitation of the crown, which restricted the sovereign from leaving his British dominions. He closed the session on the twenty-sixth of June, and embarked at Gravesend on the seventh of July for Holland, where he arrived on the ninth. He proceeded to Loo incognito, and from thence set out for Pymont. The object of this visit will appear from what follows.

Although Spain had been greatly exhausted by the war of the succession, Philip the Fifth, eager for glory, was desirous of engaging in a war with the emperor, who refused to resign the title of king of Spain, for the recovery of the Italian dominions of Spain; but his minister, Alberoni, was opposed to an immediate rupture, and pledged himself, that if Philip would maintain his kingdom in peace for five years,—a period required by Alberoni for reforming all the departments of the government, and rousing the nation from the apathy into which it had sunk, he would make him the most powerful monarch in Europe.* Philip, impatient of delay, refused to hearken to the advice of his minister. As Spain could not, with any reasonable prospect of success, carry on a war single handed, Alberoni looked round among the leading powers for an

* Letter of Alberoni to Cardinal Paolucci.

ally who would second the views of his royal master. With France he could not expect to form an alliance, as the interests of the regent and Philip were diametrically opposed, each aspiring to the throne of that kingdom. He therefore fixed his eyes upon England and Holland as the powers most likely to aid him. With England, it is true, some differences existed, but these the wily Alberoni resolved at once to remove by conceding every thing that England could reasonably desire. The commerce of England with Spain had been placed in a very unfavourable situation by some explanatory articles in the treaty of Utrecht, but on the offer of Alberoni, these were abrogated by a new treaty in December, seventeen hundred and fifteen, which restored England to the commercial advantages which she had enjoyed under the Austrian princes. This proceeding received the cordial sanction of Philip, who, on being remonstrated with by the Cardinal del Giudice for such a change of policy, remarked, "I consider the king of England as my brother, and am determined to live in friendship with him. Let me hear no more on this subject."* Philip even went so far as to sign a declaration, in which he stated his determination to give no support to the Chevalier de St George and his adherents.

Hitherto Alberoni had kept his object out of view, but an attack made by the emperor of Germany upon the republic of Genoa afforded him an opportunity of breaking the ice. Against the emperor's violation of the neutrality of Italy Alberoni made a warm appeal to the king of Great Britain as the guarantee of that neutrality, and in this appeal he was backed by the English minister at Madrid, who informed his cabinet, that, in his opinion, if the states of Parma and Tuscany were guaranteed to the queen of Spain by England, and an English fleet sent out to support the Spanish squadron in the Mediterranean, Spain would give the most ample guaranty for the Hanover succession, and would promote the commercial interests of England. George the First found himself placed in a singular but fortunate situation, by the offers of Spain. Equally courted by France and Spain, he had only to choose between them, and to form that connexion which might be most conducive to uphold the Protestant succession and to maintain the peace of Europe, with which the internal peace of Great Britain and the safety of the reigning family were intimately connected. The alliance of the emperor and of France being considered as more likely to secure these advantages than a connexion with Spain, the English minister at Madrid was instructed by the cabinet at home to decline the offers of Spain. "His majesty," said secretary Stanhope, in his letter to the minister, "is perfectly disposed to enter into a new treaty with the Catholic king, to renew and confirm the past; but the actual situation of affairs does not permit him to form other engagements, which, far from contributing to

* Coxe's *Memoirs of Spain*, c. 24.

preserve the neutrality of Italy, would give rise to jealousies tending to disturb it."*

To secure the support of the emperor, a treaty was entered into, by which he and the king of England reciprocally agreed to assist each other in the defence of their respective territories. This was followed by the agreement with France, to which allusion has been made, and in January, seventeen hundred and seventeen, a triple alliance was entered into between England, France, and Holland, by which the contracting parties mutually guaranteed to one another the possession of all places respectively held by them. The treaty also contained a guaranty of the Protestant succession on the throne of England, as well as that of the duke of Orleans to the crown of France.

The king of Spain was greatly exasperated when he first received intelligence of the treaty between the king of England and the emperor, but Alberoni still continued to court the good will of England, which he hoped one day to turn to good account. Anxious to preserve the peace of Europe, the parties to the triple alliance, immediately after its ratification, endeavoured to negotiate between Philip and the emperor, but their proposals not being relished by the former, he refused to acquiesce in them, and proceeded with his warlike preparations. Baffled in all his attempts to draw England into an alliance against the emperor, Alberoni looked to the north, where he hoped to find allies in the persons of the king of Sweden and the czar of Muscovy. Both Peter the Great and Charles the Twelfth were highly incensed against the elector of Hanover, the former for resisting the attempts of Russia to obtain a footing in the empire, the latter for having joined the confederacy formed against him during his captivity, and for having accepted from the king of Denmark the duchies of Bremen and Verden, Swedish possessions, which had been conquered by Denmark during the absence of Charles. Charles, to revenge himself, formed the design of restoring the Stuarts, and by his instructions, Goertz, his minister in England, began to cabal with the English Jacobites, to whom, in name of his master, he promised to grant assistance in any efforts they might make to rid themselves of the elector. It was whispered among the Scottish Jacobites, that "the king," as they termed the Chevalier, had some hopes of prevailing on Charles to espouse his cause, but the first notice on which they could place any reliance was a letter from the earl of Mar to one Captain Straiton, which he directed to be communicated to the bishop of Edinburgh, Lord Balmerino, and Mr Lockhart of Carnwath, and in which he suggested, that as there was a great scarcity in Sweden, the friends of the Chevalier should purchase and send five or six thousand bolls of meal to that country. Their poverty, however, and the impracticability of collecting and sending such a large quantity of food out of the kingdom, without exciting the suspicions of the government, prevented the plan from being carried

* Mr Stanhope to Mr Doddington, March 13th, 1716.

into execution.* Shortly thereafter, Straiton received another letter from Mar, in which, after stating that there was a design to attempt the restoration of the prince by the aid of a certain foreign sovereign, and that it would look strange if his friends at home did not put themselves in a condition to assist him, he suggested, that as the want of money had been hitherto a great impediment in the way of the Chevalier's success, the persons to whom this and his first letter were to be communicated, should persuade their friends to have in readiness such money as they could procure, to be employed when the proper opportunity offered. Mr Lockhart, who received a letter from the Chevalier at the same time, undertook the task of acquainting the Chevalier's friends in Scotland with Mar's wish, and obtained assurances from several persons of rank that they would attend to the prince's request. Lord Eglington in particular made an offer of three thousand guineas, which he signified by letter to the Chevalier.†

The intrigues of Goertz, the Swedish minister, being discovered by the government, he was arrested and his papers seized at the desire of King George. This extraordinary proceeding, against which the foreign ministers resident at the British court remonstrated, roused the indignation of Charles to the highest pitch of fury, and being now more determined than ever for carrying his project into effect, he, at the instigation of Alberoni, reconciled himself to the czar, who, in resentment of an offer made by King George to Charles to join against Russia, if the latter would ratify the cession of Bremen and Verden, agreed to unite his forces with those of Sweden and Spain for placing "the pretender" on the throne of England. To strengthen the interest of the Chevalier in the north, Alberoni sent the duke of Ormond into Russia to negotiate a marriage between the son of the Chevalier, and Anne the daughter of Peter, but this project did not take effect. The Chevalier himself, in the meantime, contracted a marriage with the Princess Clementina Sobieski, but she was arrested at Inspruck by order of the imperial government, when on her journey to meet her betrothed husband, and sent to a convent.

King George returned to England towards the end of January, seventeen hundred and sixteen. The parliament met on the twentieth day of February, when he informed them of the projected invasion, and mentioned that he had given orders for laying copies of papers connected therewith before them. From these documents it appeared, that the plan of invasion was ripe for execution, but that it was not intended to attempt it till the Dutch auxiliaries should be sent back to Holland. Both houses presented addresses expressing their horror and indignation at the designs of those who had encouraged an invasion. Similar addresses were presented from the convocation, and from the university of Cambridge; but Oxford was not so pliant. That university had applied for and obtained

* Lockhart Papers, vol. ii. p. 7.

† Ibid. vol. ii. p.

from the king a dispensation from the ceremony of burning the devil, the pope, the pretender, the duke of Ormond, and the earl of Mar, in effigy, on the anniversary of his majesty's accession, for which mark of favour some of the heads of the university thought they could not do less than address the king on the suppression of the late rebellion and his safe return. But Dr Smalridge, bishop of Bristol, objected to the address, on the ground that the rebellion had been long suppressed—that there was no precedent for addressing a king upon his return from his German dominions, and that the favour they had received was counterbalanced by quartering a whole regiment upon them; and the university concurred in his views.

In consequence of the conduct of his Swedish majesty, parliament passed a bill prohibiting all intercourse with Sweden, and a fleet was despatched to the Baltic under the command of Sir George Byng, to observe the motions of the Swedes; but the death of Charles the Twelfth, who was killed by a cannon ball in the trenches before Frederickshal, dissolved the confederacy between Sweden and Russia.

The only remaining power George the First had now to dread was Spain. In August, seventeen hundred and eighteen, Sir George Byng, before any declaration of war was issued, captured or destroyed a large Spanish fleet in the Mediterranean; but the Spaniards carried on the war with vigour in Sicily, which they had invaded, and the court of Madrid sent orders to all the ports of Spain and of the West Indies, to fit out privateers against the English. The parliament met on the eleventh of November, on which day addresses of congratulation were moved in both houses on account of Admiral Byng's victory, but a strong opposition was made to the motion, on the ground that the houses were called upon to sanction proceedings, which, upon inquiry, might turn out to be contrary to the law of nations. The addresses were, however, carried by considerable majorities. War was declared against Spain in December; but a respectable minority in parliament, and the nation at large, were opposed to it, as hurtful to the commercial interests of Great Britain. France also followed the same course, and a French army of thirty thousand men, under Marshal Berwick, entered Spain and laid siege to Fuenterrabia, St Sebastian, and Urgel, which surrendered in succession. The marshal next laid siege to Roses, but he was obliged to abandon the enterprize from the badness of the weather and other causes, and after placing his troops in winter-quarters, returned to Paris.

The war with Spain revived the hopes of the Jacobites, and the duke of Ormond repaired to Madrid, where he held conferences with Alberoni and concerted an invasion of Great Britain. The Dutch, alarmed at Ormond's appearance at Madrid, remonstrated with Alberoni, as they had guaranteed the Protestant succession, which might be endangered if an insurrection in favour of the Chevalier de St George was encouraged by Spain; but the cardinal assured them that the duke had

no other design in coming into Spain but to consult his personal safety. Meanwhile, under the pretence of sending reinforcements into Sicily, preparations were made at Cadiz and in the ports of Galicia, for the projected invasion, and the Chevalier himself quitted Urbino by stealth, and embarking at Netteno, landed at Cagliari in March, seventeen hundred and nineteen. From thence he took his passage to Roses in Catalonia, and proceeded to Madrid, where he was cordially received and treated as king of Great Britain. On the tenth of March, seventeen hundred and nineteen, a fleet consisting of ten men-of-war and twenty-one transports, having on board five thousand men, a great quantity of ammunition, and thirty thousand muskets, sailed from Cadiz, with instructions to join the rest of the expedition at Corunna, and to make a descent at once upon England and Ireland. The duke of Ormond was appointed commander of the fleet, with the title of Captain-general of his most Catholic Majesty; and he was provided with declarations in the name of the king, stating, that for many good reasons he had sent forces into England and Scotland to act as auxiliaries to King James.

To defeat this attempt the allied cabinets adopted the necessary measures. His Britannic majesty having communicated to both houses of parliament the advices he had received respecting the projected invasion, they gave him every assurance of support, and requested him to augment his forces by sea and land. He offered a reward of ten thousand pounds to any one who should apprehend the duke of Ormond. Troops were ordered to assemble in the north and west of England, and a strong squadron, under Admiral Norris, was equipped and sent out to sea to meet the Spanish fleet. The Dutch furnished two thousand men, and six battalions of Imperialists were sent from the Austrian Netherlands; and the duke of Orleans ordered ships to be prepared at Brest to join the English fleet, and made an offer of twenty battalions for the service of King George.

The expedition under Ormond, with the exception of two frigates, never reached its destination, having been dispersed and disabled, off Cape Finisterre, by a violent storm which lasted twelve days. These two ships reached the coast of Scotland, and had on board the Earls Marischal and Seaforth, the marquis of Tullibardine, some field officers, three hundred Spaniards, and arms for two thousand men. This small force landed in the western Highlands, and was joined by some Highlanders, chiefly Seaforth's men. The other Jacobite clans, with the disappointment they formerly experienced from France still fresh in their recollection, resolved not to move till the whole forces under Ormond should arrive. A difference arose between the Earl Marischal and the marquis of Tullibardine about the command, but this dispute was put an end to by the advance of General Wightman from Inverness, with a body of regular troops. The Highlanders and their allies had taken possession of the pass at Glenshiel; but on the approach of the government forces, they retired to the pass at Strachell, which they resolved

to defend. General Wightman attacked and drove them, after a smart action and after sustaining some loss, from one eminence to another, when night put an end to the combat. The Highlanders seeing no chance of making a successful resistance, dispersed, during the night, among the mountains, and the Spaniards, on the following day, surrendered themselves prisoners of war. Marischal, Seaforth, and Tul-libardine, with the other officers, retired to the western isles, and thereafter escaped to the continent.

CHAPTER XVI.

Prudent conduct of the Jacobites in the south of Scotland—The Pretender appoints Trustees for managing his affairs in Scotland—Letter from him on the subject—Discovery of a new Jacobite conspiracy—Arrests—Preparations of the Government—Committal of Atterbury, Bishop of Rochester, on a charge of high treason—Meeting of a new Parliament—Habeas-corpus act suspended—Declaration of the Chevalier de St George—Severe proceedings against the Catholics—Trial and Execution of Laver—Trial and Banishment of Atterbury—Return of Lord Bolingbroke to England—Causes thereof—Act for preserving the peace of the Highlands—Meeting of some Highland Chiefs at Paris—Resolution adopted by them—Preparations of General Wade to disarm the Highlanders—Camp formed at Inverness—The Mackenzies and others submit—Proposed alliance between the Jacobites and the Cameronians—Disgrace of the Earl of Mar—Its consequences—Atterbury's charges against Mar, who justifies himself—The Consort of the Chevalier retires to a Convent—Cause of the separation—Death of George I.—Arrival of the Chevalier in Lorraine—His reasons for this step—Returns to Italy.

ALTHOUGH the Chevalier still had many adherents in the south of Scotland, yet, as they were narrowly watched by the government, it was considered inexpedient and unsafe to correspond with them on the subject of the Spanish expedition. In the state of uncertainty in which they were thus kept, they wisely abstained from committing themselves, and when Marischal landed they were quite unprepared to render him any assistance, and unanimously resolved not to move in any shape till a rising should take place in England in favour of the Chevalier. But this prudent resolution was well nigh marred by the following singular incident:—About the time the Spanish fleet was expected to have arrived upon the coast, an unknown person, who represented himself as a servant of Cameron of Lochiel, waited upon one Mills, tutor to young Glengary, at Edinburgh, and informed him that he had come from Spain, and had just been landed on the coast of Galloway from the duke of Ormond's fleet as it had passed by, and that he had been commissioned to go north and acquaint his master's friends to hold themselves in readiness to take up arms. Mills carried this person to one Captain Straiton, a zealous Jacobite, who gave full credit to the statement, in which he was afterwards confirmed by a letter sent to him by express by the viscount of Stormont, then at his house in Annandale, informing him that five or six days before the date of his letter, a large squadron of tall ships, which he had no doubt was Ormond's fleet, had passed along the Galloway coast, sailing with a fair wind directly for the west coast of England. On receiving the viscount's letter, Straiton sent off an express to Lord Nairne in Perthshire, informing him that the duke of Ormond was on the coast, and had certainly landed by that time, and requesting his

lordship to forward the glad intelligence to Lord Marischal and other proper persons in the Highlands, that no time might be lost in summoning the Highlanders to the field. The news having been also communicated by Straiton to some persons in and about Edinburgh, the earl of Dalhousie and some other gentlemen of the county got on horseback with the intention of joining Ormond, as they saw no possibility of reaching Marischal; but Lockhart of Carnwath, who doubted the intelligence, prevailed on Dalhousie to remain at Selkirk, under the pretence of attending the races, till he should inquire into its truth. The result was, that the whole affair turned out to be a pure fabrication, evidently got up by the emissaries of the government to entrap the Jacobite chiefs. By this timely interference on the part of Lockhart, many families were saved from ruin, as he immediately apprized those who were ready to rise, of the deception which had been practised.*

As many inconveniencies had arisen from a want of co-operation among the friends of the Chevalier in the south of Scotland, Mr Lockhart, in concert with the bishop of Edinburgh, proposed to James that the earls of Eglinton and Wigton, Lord Balmerino, the bishop of Edinburgh, (the head of the nonjuring clergy,) Mr Paterson of Prestonhall, and Captain Straiton, should be appointed commissioners or trustees for transacting his affairs in Scotland. This proposal was well received by the Chevalier, who sent the following letter to Lockhart on the occasion:—

“ *February 15th, 1720.*

“ I saw a few days agoe a paper you sent hither for my perusal, in which I remarked with pleasure that same good sense and affection for me I always found in you, and of which I am truly sensible. I am entirely convinced of the advantage it would be to my affairs, that some persons of weight and prudence should frequently confer together, and communicate to me their opinion and reflections on matters, and at the same time, on proper occasions, give such advice to the rest of my friends as might conduce to our common good. To appoint a certain number of persons for this effect by commission, is by no means, at this time, adviseable, because of the inconveniencies it might draw, sooner or later, upon the persons concern'd; since it could not but be expected that the present government would, at long run, be inform'd of such a paper which, by its nature, must be known to a great number of people; besides, that many who might be most fitt to discharge such a trust might, with reason, not be fond of having their names exposed in such a matter; while, on the other hand, numbers might be disobliged for not having a share where it is not possible all can be concern'd; but I think all these inconveniences may be obviated, the intent of the proposal comply'd with, and equal advantages drawn from it if the persons named below, or some of them, would meet and consult together for

* Lockhart Papers, vol. ii. p. 22, 23.

the intents above-mention'd. The persons you propose I entirely approve, to witt, the earls of Eglington and Wigton, Lord Balmerino, the bishop of Edinburgh, Mr Paterson and Captain Straiton, to whom I would have added Mr Harry Maul, Sir John Erskine, Lord Dun, Pourie and Glengary. Now, as these gentlemen want, I know, no spur to their zeal for my service, and that out of regard to them I am unwilling to write directly at present to them, I am persuaded that when this letter is communicated to them, they will willingly enter into what is proposed for our mutuall advantage; and to make the thing easier to you, I send a duplicate of this to Straiton, that either by him or you it may be communicated to the persons concern'd, with all that is kind to them in my name; and if any of them are desirous upon occasion to consult others not named in this letter, I shall entirely approve it; but what I desire may be the first point settled, is that of a regular correspondence with me; for which end, if Straiton is not sufficient, I shall approve of any person my friends shall appoint for that effect, as I have already that one Mr Coopar should be assisting to Straiton on occasions," * &c.

Shortly after the receipt of the preceding letter, Mr Lockhart acquainted the different persons, therein named, of its contents, and all of them undertook to execute the trust reposed in them; but as they judged it advisable to conceal the powers they had received from their friends, they requested Mr Lockhart, when their advice was wanted, to communicate with them individually, and having collected their sentiments to give the necessary instructions with due caution. From his name not having been put down in the Chevalier's list, Mr Lockhart at first declined to act as a trustee; but on being informed that his name had been omitted by mistake, and that it was the Chevalier's intention that he should be one of the number, he undertook the office.† No matter, however, of any importance seems ever to have been brought under the consideration of these trustees.

In June seventeen hundred and twenty-one, a treaty of peace was signed at Madrid between Great Britain and Spain, and at same time a defensive alliance was entered into between Great Britain, France, and Spain. As the two last were the only powers from whom the "Pretender" could expect any effectual aid in support of his pretensions, his long-wished-for restoration seemed now to be hopeless, and King George secure, as he imagined, from foreign invasion and domestic plots, made preparations for visiting his German dominions, and actually appointed a regency to act in his absence. But early in the year seventeen hundred and twenty-two, a discovery was made, on information received by the King from the regent of France, that the Jacobites were busy in a new conspiracy against the government. It appeared that the Chevalier de St George, who was at Rome, was to sail from Porto-Longone

* Lockhart Papers, vol. ii. p. 29.

† Ibid. vol. ii. p. 34.

for Spain, under the protection of three Spanish men-of-war, and there to wait the resolutions of his friends.* In following the clue given by the duke of Orleans, it was ascertained that all the letters, in relation to the conspiracy, were carried to Mr George Kelly, an Irish clergyman, who despatched them to their different destinations. The insurrection was to have taken place during the king's absence in Hanover; but his majesty having deferred his journey in consequence of the discovery of the plot, the conspirators resolved to postpone their attempt till the dissolution of parliament.

The conspirators finding they were watched by government became extremely cautious, and the ministers, desirous of getting hold of the treasonable correspondence, ordered Kelly, the principal agent, to be arrested. He was accordingly apprehended, but not until he had, by keeping his assailants at bay with his sword, succeeded in burning the greater part of his papers. Although the papers which were seized from Kelly, and others which had been intercepted by government, bore evident marks of a conspiracy, yet it became very difficult, from the fictitious names used in them, to trace out the guilty persons. "We are in trace of several things very material," observes Robert Walpole in a letter to his brother, in reference to this discovery, "but we fox-hunters know that we do not always find every fox that we cross upon." Among other persons who were arrested on suspicion, were the duke of Norfolk, lords North and Grey, Strafford, and Orrery, Atterbury, bishop of Rochester, and Sir Harry Goring.

To check the threatened insurrection, a camp was immediately formed in Hyde-park, and all military officers were ordered to repair to their respective regiments. Lieutenant-general Macartney was despatched to Ireland to bring over some troops from that kingdom, and the states of Holland were requested to have their auxiliary troops in readiness for embarkation. These preparations, and the many rumours which prevailed respecting the extent of the conspiracy, affected public credit, and a run took place upon the bank, but the panic soon subsided, and public confidence was restored.

Of all the persons seized of any note, the bishop of Rochester was the only individual against whom a charge could plausibly be maintained. He was equally noted for his high literary attainments and a warm attachment to the exploded dogma of passive obedience. He had written Sacheverel's defence *con amore*, and he had carried his partizanship for the house of Stuart so far, that, according to Lord Harcourt, he offered, upon the death of Queen Anne, to proclaim the Chevalier de St George at Charing-cross in his lawn sleeves, and when his proposal was declined, he is said to have exclaimed, "Never was a better cause lost for want of spirit." He was identified as one of the conspirators by a trifling circumstance. A dog mentioned in some of the letters as a present to a person

* Robert Walpole to his brother Horace, May 1722. Coxe.

sometimes named Jones and sometimes Illington, was sent from France. A Mrs Barnes, who was privy to the conspiracy, nowise suspecting that such an insignificant circumstance would lead to detection, freely stated that the dog mentioned in the letters was intended for the bishop of Rochester. This admission led to a closer examination of the letters, and the result was, that not only the mention of Jones and Illington was found always to agree with this information, but the bishop's illness, the death of his wife, his visits to and departures from London, were all mentioned with the right dates under these feigned names.*

After an examination before the privy-council, the bishop was committed to the Tower on a charge of high treason. After he had been a fortnight in confinement, Mrs Morris, the prelate's daughter, presented a petition to the court at the Old Bailey, praying that, in consideration of her father's bad state of health, he might be either brought to a speedy trial, admitted to bail, or discharged, but the petition was rejected. The committal of the bishop was highly resented by the clergy, who considered it as an outrage upon the church of England and the episcopal order, and they gave full vent to their feelings by offering up public prayers for his health in all the churches and chapels of London and Westminster.

The new parliament met in the month of October, and the first thing the king did was to announce, by a speech from the throne, the nature of the conspiracy. He observed that the conspirators had endeavoured to obtain the aid of foreign powers, but that they had been disappointed in their expectations,—that, confiding in their numbers, they had, notwithstanding, resolved once more to attempt to subvert the government; to accomplish which end, they had obtained large sums of money, engaged great numbers of foreign officers, and secured large quantities of arms and ammunition,—and that had not the plot been timeously discovered, the whole nation, and particularly the city of London, would have been involved in blood and confusion. He dwelt upon the mildness and uprightness of his government, and inveighed against the folly of the disaffected; and he concluded with an assurance that he would steadily adhere to the constitution in church and state, and continue to make the laws the rule and measure of all his actions. This speech was answered by corresponding addresses from both houses. A bill for suspending the habeas corpus act for a whole year was immediately brought into the house of lords, but as the period of suspension was double of any suspension hitherto known, it met with some opposition. In the commons, however, the opposition was so violent, that Mr Robert Walpole found himself necessitated to invent a story of a design to seize the bank and the exchequer, and to proclaim the "pretender" on the royal exchange. This ridiculous tale, uttered with the greatest confidence, alarmed the commons, and they passed the bill.

* *Memoirs of the Affairs of Europe.* By Lord John Russell, vol. ii. p. 387.

In connexion with this conspiracy, the Chevalier de St George issued a declaration, dated at Lucca, on the twentieth of September same year, addressed to the people of Great Britain and Ireland, as well as to all foreign princes and states. In this paper, after mentioning the violation of freedom in the late elections, pretended conspiracies to serve as a pretext for new oppressions, infamous informers, and the state of proscription under which he alleged every honest British subject lay, he made this extraordinary proposal, that if King George would relinquish to him the throne of Great Britain, he would in return bestow upon him the title of king in his native dominions, and invite all other states to confirm it. He promised to leave to King George his succession to the British dominions secure, whenever it should open to him in the natural course. On the sixteenth of November the king sent to the house of peers the original and a printed copy of this declaration, signed by the "pretender," for their consideration. The lords unanimously resolved that it was a false, insolent, and traitorous libel, and ordered it to be burned at the Royal-exchange; and the commons concurred in this resolution. An address was also agreed to by both houses, in which they expressed their utmost astonishment and indignation at the insolence of the "pretender," and assuring his majesty of their determination to support his title to the crown with their lives and fortunes. As the catholics were supposed to be chiefly concerned in the conspiracy, a bill was introduced into the house of commons for raising one hundred thousand pounds upon the real and personal estates of all "papists," or persons educated in the catholic religion, towards defraying the expenses incurred by the late rebellion and disorders. This bill being justly regarded as a species of persecution, was warmly opposed by some members, but it was sent up to the house of lords along with another bill, obliging all persons, being "papists," in Scotland, and all persons in Great Britain refusing or neglecting to take the oaths appointed for the king's person and government, to register their names and real estates. As might have been anticipated, both bills were passed without amendments and received the royal assent.

Christopher Layer and the bishop of Rochester were the only prisoners who were brought to trial. Layer was arraigned on the twenty-first day of November, and being convicted of having enlisted men for the pretender's service, received sentence of death. With a view to discovery, he was reprieved for some time, and examined by a committee of the house of commons, but being unwilling or unable to discover the particulars of the conspiracy, he was executed at Tyburn, and his head was fixed up at Temple-bar. Mr Pulteney, chairman of the committee, reported to the house, that from the examination of Layer and others, it appeared that a design had been formed by persons of figure and distinction at home, in conjunction with traitors abroad, for placing the "pretender" on the throne of these realms: that their first object was to obtain a body of foreign troops to invade

the kingdom at the time of the late elections, but that being disappointed in this expectation, the conspirators had resolved to make an attempt at the time it was generally believed the king intended to go to Hanover, by the help of such officers and soldiers as could pass into England unobserved from abroad, under the command of the duke of Ormond, who was to have landed in the river with a great quantity of arms provided in Spain for that purpose, at which time the Tower was to have been seized: that this scheme being also defeated by the vigilance of the government, the conspirators deferred their enterprise till the breaking up of the camp, and in the meantime employed their agents to corrupt and seduce the army: that it appeared from several letters and circumstances, that the duke of Ormond, the duke of Norfolk, the earl of Orrery, Lord North and Grey, and the bishop of Rochester were concerned in this conspiracy: that their acting agents were Christopher Layer and John Plunket, who travelled together to Rome; Dennis Kelly, George Kelly, and Thomas Carte, nonjuring clergymen, Neyne the Irish priest, who had been drowned in the river Thames in attempting to make his escape from the messenger's house, Mrs Spilman, alias Yallop, and John Sample.

On receiving this report the house of commons passed a resolution declaring that a detestable and horrid conspiracy had existed for raising a rebellion, seizing the Tower and the city of London, laying violent hands upon the sacred persons of his Majesty and the prince of Wales in order to subvert the constitution in church and state, by placing a popish pretender upon the throne; and that it was formed and carried on by persons of figure and distinction, and their agents and instruments in conjunction with traitors abroad. The duke of Norfolk, who was sent to the Tower, was not brought to trial. John Plunket and George Kelly were imprisoned during his Majesty's pleasure by virtue of bills of pains and penalties, which were passed through parliament. A bill of a similar nature depriving Atterbury of his bishopric, and banishing him for life without a power in the crown to pardon, was immediately introduced into the house of commons, though Sir William Wyndham maintained that there was no evidence against him but conjectures and hearsays. The bishop wrote a letter to the speaker, intimating, that though conscious of his innocence, he should decline giving the house any trouble, contenting himself with the opportunity of making his defence before the house of which he had the honour to be a member. The bill was committed on the sixth day of April, when a majority of the tory members left the house. The bill was thereafter passed, only two members having spoken against it.

The bill being carried to the upper house, the bishop was brought up for trial on the ninth of May. The evidence against him consisted entirely of correspondence, not one particle of which was in his own handwriting. The post-office clerks had copied and forwarded some letters on the twentieth of April, and on the twentieth of August they had stopped another letter as a sample, which they swore to be in the same

such as he pleased, from being comprehended under it, and that consequently his grace was in no hazard of having his people disarmed, yet what was now done to others, would stand as a precedent for using him and his in the same manner, as it was an English measure, or might be retaliated on him upon an alteration of the ministry, when it might be proper to gratify those that coped with him and his family, and grudged that he and his followers should be in a better state than others. But the truth on't is, this duke hath in all matters acted as if he only considered the present time, and had no regard or concern for futurity.*

By an act passed in the first year of George I., "for the more effectual securing the peace of the Highlands in Scotland," it was rendered unlawful for any person or persons, (except the persons therein mentioned and described, viz. peers of the realm, sons of peers, members of parliament, and others authorized by his majesty,) within the shires of Dumbarton, on the north side of the water of Leven, Stirling, on the north side of the river of Forth, Perth, Kincardine, Aberdeen, Inverness, Nairne, Cromarty, Argyle, Forfar, Banff, Sutherland, Caithness, Elgin, and Ross, to have in custody, or to use or bear broad-sword or target, poniard, whingar, or durk, side-pistol or side-pistols, or gun, or any other warlike weapon in the fields, or in the way coming or going to, from, or at any church, market, fair, burials, huntings, meetings, or any occasion whatsoever within the said bounds, or to come into the low countries armed, as aforesaid.

After a recital of these provisions, it was enacted by the law, now passed, *Imo*, that from time to time the lord-lieutenant of every one of the said shires, or any other person or persons, to be appointed by his majesty, his heirs, or successors, for that effect, should cause letters or summons to be issued in his majesty's name, under their respective hands and seals, directed to such of the clans and persons within the said several shires and bounds as they should think fit, commanding and requiring all and every person belonging to such clan or clans, and all and every such other persons therein named, living within the particular limits therein described, on a certain day, in such summons to be named, to bring to and deliver up at a certain place in such summons also to be mentioned, their arms and warlike weapons, to such lord-lieutenants, or other persons, authorized to receive the same; and if, on the expiration of the day appointed for delivery, any persons belonging to the clan or clans, or any other persons named in the summons, should be convicted on evidence of having or bearing any arms or warlike weapons, after the day mentioned in the summons, the said persons so convicted were to be forthwith committed to safe custody, to be there kept and detained without bail, until delivered over to such officer or officers belonging to the forces of his majesty as should be appointed from time to time, to receive such men within every such shire or place respect-

* Lockhart papers, vol. ii. p. 150.

ively to serve as soldiers in any part of his majesty's dominions beyond the seas. *2do*, To prevent arms from being concealed, it was next enacted, that if, after the days appointed for delivery, any arms or warlike weapons should be found concealed in any dwelling-house, or in any house or office of whatever description within the limits summoned to deliver up, the tenant or possessor should be deemed the bearer of such concealed arms, and, upon being convicted, should suffer the penalty before mentioned, unless such tenant or possessor should produce sufficient evidence that such arms were so concealed without his connivance or knowledge. *3tio*, To prevent questions touching the legality of the notice, it was declared that the summons, notwithstanding its generality, should be deemed sufficient if it expressed the clan or clans, that were commanded to deliver up their arms, or the lands and limits, the inhabitants of which were to be disarmed, and that it should be a sufficient and legal notice to affix the summons on the door of the parish church or churches of the several parishes within which the lands, the inhabitants whereof were to be disarmed, lay, on any Sunday betwixt the hours of ten in the forenoon, and two in the afternoon,—four days at least before the day fixed for delivering up the arms; and on the market-cross of the head-burgh of the shire or stewartry, eight days before the day so appointed. *4to*, The lord-lieutenant of the said shires, or the person or persons authorized as aforesaid, or any two or more justices of the peace were authorized to enter into any house within the limits aforesaid, either by day or by night, and to search for and seize arms and warlike weapons. These provisions were unquestionably very severe; but the circumstances of the times rendered them absolutely necessary.

Upon the passing of the disarming act, some of the Highland chiefs held a meeting at Paris, at which they resolved to apply to the Chevalier de St George, to know whether, in his opinion, they should submit to the new law. James returned an answer under cover to Bishop Atterbury, in which he advised the chiefs rather to submit than run the risk of ruining their followers; but the bishop thought proper to keep up the letter, and having sent off an express to Rome, James was induced to write another letter altogether different from the first, requiring them to resist, by force, the intended attempt of the government to disarm the Highlanders. Meanwhile, the chiefs were apprized of James's original sentiments by a correspondent at Rome, and of the letter which had been sent to Atterbury's care. Unaware of this circumstance, the bishop, on receipt of the second letter, convened the chiefs, and communicated to them its contents; but these being so completely at variance with the information of their correspondent, they insisted upon seeing the first letter, but Atterbury refused in the most positive terms to exhibit it, and insisted upon compliance with the injunctions contained in the second letter. They, thereupon, desired to know what support they were to receive in men, money, and arms; but

the bishop told them, that unless they resolved to go to Scotland and take up arms, he would give them no further information than this, that they would be assisted by a certain foreign power, whose name he was not at liberty to mention.* The chiefs, dissatisfied with the conduct of the bishop, refused to pledge themselves as required, and retired.

After the passing of this act, General Wade, who had made a survey of the Highlands during the summer of seventeen hundred and twenty-four, was made commander-in-chief in Scotland, with powers to build forts wherever he pleased. In addition to the forces already in Scotland, troops were sent down from England, and several frigates were appointed to stations on the coast of Scotland, there to wait the general's orders. It was Wade's intention to form a camp at Inverness, preparatory to the disarming of the Highlanders, but he was stopped for a time on his journey north to quell a serious disturbance which had broken out at Glasgow, in consequence of the imposition of the malt-tax.

The great preparations made to carry the disarming act into effect, indicated a dread, on the part of the government, that the Highlanders would not deliver up their arms without a struggle. The Chevalier de St George, deceived as it would appear by the representations of Atterbury, resolved to support the Highlanders, to the effect at least of enabling them to obtain favourable terms from the government. "I find," says James, in a letter † to Mr Lockhart, "they (the Highlanders) are of opinion that nothing less than utter ruin is designed for them, and those on this side are persuaded that the English government will meet with the greatest difficulties in executing their projects, and that the clans will unanimously agree to oppose them to the last, and if thereby circumstances will allow them to do nothing for my service, that they will still, by a capitulation, be able to procure better terms to themselves than they can propose by leaving themselves at the government's mercy, and delivering up their arms: and, if so, I am resolved, and I think I owe it to them, to do all in my power to support them, and the distance I am at has obliged me to give my orders accordingly; and nothing in my power shall be wanting to enable them to keep their ground against the government, at least till they can procure good terms for themselves, tho, at the same time, I must inform you that the opposition they propose to make may prove of the greatest advantage to my interest, considering the hopes I have of foreign assistance, which, perhaps, you may hear of even before you receive this letter. I should not have ventured to call the Highlanders together, without a certainty of their being supported, but the great probability there is of it makes me not at all sorry they should take the resolution of defending themselves, and not delivering up their arms, which would have rendered them, in a great measure, useless to their country; and as the

* Abstract of a letter from one of the Highland chiefs at Paris to Mr John Macleod, advocate, dated the end of June, 1725. Lockhart Papers, vol. ii. p. 192-3.

† Dated 23d June, 1725. Lockhart Papers, vol. ii. p. 169.

designs of the government are represented to me, the laying down of their arms is only to be the forerunner of other methods, that are to be taken to extirpate their race for ever.* They are certainly in the right to make the government buy their slavery at as dear a rate as they can. The distance I am at (Rome,) and the imperfect accounts I have had of this law, (for disarming the Highlanders,) have been very unlucky: however, the orders I have sent to France I hope will not come too late, and I can answer for the diligence in the execution of them, which is all I can say to you at present from hence."

A few days after the receipt of this letter, Mr Lockhart went to Edinburgh, where he found the duke of Hamilton and the earl of Kincardine, two of James's "trustees," to whom he showed the letter, and requested their opinion as to the proposed attempt to resist the contemplated measures of the government. These noblemen considered that the attempt would be rash as well as fatal,—that the idea of obtaining better terms by a temporary resistance, was vain, unless the Highlanders succeeded in defeating the government; but that if they failed, the utter extirpation of their race would certainly follow;—that the Highlanders being a body of men of such high value, as well in relation to the interests of the exiled family, as to those of the kingdom, it was by no means reasonable to hazard them upon an uncertainty, for though they should give up their arms, it would be easier to provide them afterwards with others, when their services were required, than to repair the loss of their persons;—that with regard to foreign assistance, as such undertakings were liable to many accidents, and as the best formed designs often turned out abortive, it was by no means advisable to hazard the Highlanders, who were hated by the government, upon the expectancy of such aid; and that if such foreign powers as could, and were willing to assist, would inquire into the true state of affairs in Scotland, they would find that whenever a feasible attempt should be made by them to restore the exiled family, the Scots would be ready to declare themselves.

This opinion was communicated by Mr Lockhart to James,† and he informed him at same time that a person of distinction, who had been sent by the Highland Jacobite chiefs to obtain intelligence and advice, had arrived in Edinburgh *incognito*, and had informed Kincardine,

* This serious charge was probably not altogether without foundation. The extreme severities of the government certainly tended to such a result. In reference to these, Duncan Forbes, afterwards lord-president, in an anonymous letter to Sir Robert Walpole, says, "If all the rebels, with their wives, children, and immediate dependants, could be at once rooted out of the earth, the shock would be astonishing; but time would commit it to oblivion, and the danger would be less to the constitution than when thousands of innocents, punished with misery and want for the offences of their friends, are suffered to wander about the country, sighing out their complaints to Heaven, and drawing at once the compassion, and moving the indignation of every human creature." Culloden Papers, p. 62.

† Letter from Mr Lockhart to the Chevalier, 25th July, 1725. Lockhart Papers, vol. ii. p. 186.

who had waited upon him, that the Highlanders had resolved to make a show of submission, by giving up part of their arms under the pretence of delivering up the whole, while their intention was to retain and conceal the best and greater part of them. Kincardine, without giving any opinion on the subject, recommended to the gentleman in question, as foreign assistance might be speedily expected, the expediency of putting off the delivery as long as possible, and that as four or five weeks would be consumed before the forms, required by the act, could be complied with, they should retain their arms till the expiration of that period. This proposal was highly relished by the deputy, who departed early the following morning for the Highlands to communicate the plan to his friends and constituents.

The advice given by Hamilton and Eglinton coincided with the views which James, upon being made acquainted with the resolution of the chiefs at Paris, had adopted; and in a letter written to Mr Lockhart by Colonel Hay, whom he had appointed his secretary of state, and raised to the peerage under the title of earl of Inverness, he signified his approbation of the advice given by his friends, which he said was entirely agreeable to his own sentiments from the beginning. He stated, moreover, that the orders he had given to assist the Highlanders were only conditional, and in the event only that they themselves should have resolved to oppose the government, and that if the bishop of Rochester had pressed any of the chiefs at Paris to go to arms, it was more with a view to discover a correspondence which he suspected one of them had carried on independent of the others, than with any real design to induce them to order their followers to make opposition, as that was to have depended as much upon the chiefs at home as upon those abroad.*

When James ascertained that the Highlanders were resolved to submit, he withdrew the orders he had given for assisting them, and despatched a trusty messenger to the Highlands to acquaint them of his readiness to support them when a proper occasion offered, and to collect information as to the state of the country. Allan Cameron, the messenger in question, arrived in the Highlands in August, and visited the heads of the clans in the interest of James, to whom he delivered the message with which he had been intrusted. It is said that General Wade was aware of his arrival, but it does not appear that any measures were taken to apprehend him. After four months' residence in the Highlands, Cameron ventured on a journey to Edinburgh, where, in the beginning of the year seventeen hundred and twenty-six, he held frequent conferences with the duke of Hamilton, the earl of Kincardine, and Lockhart of Carnwath, on the subject of his mission and the state of affairs, but nothing of importance was resolved upon at these meetings, and Cameron departed for the continent early in February.

After the suppression of the riots in the west of Scotland, General

* Lockhart Papers, vol. ii. p. 218.

Wade proceeded to Inverness, where a camp had been formed, to carry the disarming act into execution. At Inverness Wade was waited upon by a body of about one hundred and fifty gentlemen of the name of Mackenzie, headed by Lord Tarbet, Sir Colin Mackenzie of Coul, and Sir Kenneth Mackenzie of Cromarty. These last informed the general that they had come as the representatives of Seaforth's tenants and vassals, who would not come in themselves till they knew how they were to be received,—that their rents had for several years been uplifted by Daniel Murdochson, Seaforth's factor or servant, and that they were not able to pay them a second time, but that if they were discharged of these rents, they would pay them in future to the government, deliver up their arms, and live peaceably. Wade, who according to Lockhart was "a good enough tempered man," at once acceded to this request, and informed the deputation, that if the clan performed what had been promised, he would endeavour in the next session of parliament to procure a pardon for Seaforth and all his friends. After being well entertained for two or three days at Inverness, the deputation, accompanied by Wade and a small body of dragoons, went to Castlebrann, where the arms of the clan were delivered up, but not until Murdochson had secreted all those of any value.* The Macdonells of Glengary and Keppoch, the Camerons, the Macdonalds of Skye and Glencoe, the Stewarts of Appin, and others, made a similar surrender, but all of them were careful to conceal the best of their arms. "No doubt," says Lockhart to James, "the government will be at pains to magnify and spread abroad their success in disarming the Highlanders, but depend on't, its all a jest; for few or no swords or pistols are or will be surrendered, and only such of their firelocks as are of no value, so that a small recruit of good arms will put them in better state than before. I mention this so expressly that you may contradict reports to the contrary, lest they discourage those from whom you expect foreign aid. I now plainly see that this Highland expedition (whatever might be at first pretended or intended) is now at the bottom a money job: the general has got a great sum of money to pass through his hands for it, and his scheme is to be mighty civil to the Highlanders, and under the colour of his having persuaded them to give up their arms, (which the trash they give him will enable him to represent,) to make himself pass as an useful man and fit to be continued in Scotland with a good salary. But at the same time, I know likewise that there are some of the government heartily vexed that the Highlanders have made no opposition, hoping, if they had, that in the time of tranquillity they might have extirpated them, whereas, as matters have been managed, they will still remain, and be in a capacity to serve you when fair occasion offers."†

The extraordinary excitement produced in Scotland by the levying of the malt-tax might have proved dangerous to the government, had the

* Lockhart Papers, vol. ii. p. 196.

† Letter of Mr Lockhart to James, 2d Sept. 1725. Lockhart Papers, vol. ii. p. 195.

partizans of the Stuarts, assisted by a small foreign force, been in a condition to have taken the field. A new alliance was now proposed between the Cameronians and Highlanders, and negotiations actually entered into for that purpose;* but the activity of the government in suppressing the disturbances, destroyed for a time any hopes which the Jacobites may have entertained of again embroiling the kingdom in a civil war. They indeed attempted to keep up the resentment of the people against the government, in the expectation that an invasion would be attempted, but neither the court of France nor that of Spain was disposed to embark in an enterprise which would have brought on a general war in Europe.

About this time an event occurred, which, while it tended to create factions amongst the adherents of James, made many of them keep either altogether aloof from any direct management in his affairs, or abstain from entering into any plan of co-operation for his restoration. This was the dismissal of Mar from his post as minister of James at Paris, on the suspicion that he had betrayed the secrets of his master to the British government. From his situation he was intimately acquainted with all the Chevalier's affairs, and knew the name of every person of any note in the three kingdoms who had taken an interest in the restoration of the exiled family, with many of whom he himself had corresponded. The removal, therefore, of such a person from the Jacobite councils could not fail to excite uneasy apprehensions in the minds of those who had intrusted him with their confidence, and to make them extremely cautious in again committing themselves by any act, which, if discovered, would place them in jeopardy. To this feeling may be ascribed the great reserve which for several years subsequent to this occurrence the Jacobites observed in their foreign relations, and the want of unity of action which formed so remarkable a characteristic in their subsequent proceedings. As this affair forms an important link in the historical chain which connects the events of the year seventeen hundred and fifteen with those of seventeen hundred and forty-five, a short account of it is necessary.

During a temporary confinement at Geneva, Mar had obtained a sum of money, whether solicited or not does not appear, from the earl of Stair, the British ambassador at Paris, without the knowledge of James. In a narrative afterwards drawn up by Mar in his own justification, he states, that being in great straits he received this money as a loan from the earl, who was his old friend; but Colonel Hay, in a letter to Mr Lockhart of the eighth of September, seventeen hundred and twenty-five, states that Mar had no occasion for such a loan, as "the king" remitted him considerable supplies to Geneva, where his expense would be trifling, as he was entertained by the town.† This matter might have been overlooked, but he, soon thereafter, accepted a pension of two thousand

* Lockhart Papers, vol. ii. p. 212—228.

† Ibid. p. 177—206.

pounds from the government, over and above the sum of fifteen hundred pounds which his countess and daughter actually then received by way of jointure and aliment out of the produce of his estate. Mar states that before he agreed to receive this pension he took the advice of General Dillon, a zealous supporter of the interests of the Stuarts, whom he had been accustomed to consult in all matters of importance, and that the general advised him to accept of the offer, as by refusing it the government might stop his lady's jointure, and that his estate would be sold and lost for ever to his family; and that as he had been released from his confinement at Geneva on condition that he should not act or take any part against the government of Great Britain during his abode in France, and should return when required to Geneva, that government might insist on his being sent back to Geneva, whence he had been allowed to go to the waters of Bourbon for his health. Mar communicated the proposal also to James, in a letter of third February, seventeen hundred and twenty-one, who at once sanctioned his acceptance of the pension, and assured him that his sentiments in regard to him remained unaltered. Notwithstanding this assurance, however, there is every reason to believe that James had begun to suspect his fidelity; and as he could clearly perceive that Mar had already taken his resolution to close with the government, he might consider it his wisest policy to conceal his displeasure, and not to break at once with a man who had so much in his power to injure him and his friends.

Having thus succeeded in their advances to Mar, the government, on receiving information of the conspiracy in which Atterbury was concerned, sent a gentleman to Paris in May, seventeen hundred and twenty-two, with a letter to Mar from Lord Carteret. This gentleman received instructions to sound Mar as to his knowledge of the intended plot. On arriving at Paris, the messenger, (who, it is understood, was Colonel Churchill,) sent a letter to Mar requesting a private interview. Dillon was present when this letter was delivered, and on reading it, Mar says he showed it to Dillon, upon which it was arranged that Mar should instantly call upon the person who had written the letter, and that Dillon should remain in the house till Mar's return, when the object and nature of the interview would be communicated to him. On Mar's return he and Dillon consulted together, and they both thought that the incident was a lucky one, as it afforded Mar an opportunity of doing James's affairs a good service by leading the government off the true scent, and thereby prevent further inquiries. They thereupon drew up a letter with that view, to be sent by Mar in answer to Carteret's communication, which being approved of by another person in the confidence of the Chevalier, was sent by Mar to the bearer of Carteret's letter. Mar immediately sent an account of the affair to James and the duke of Ormond, and he shortly received a letter from the former, dated eighth June, seventeen hundred and twenty-two, in which he expressed himself entirely satisfied with the course pursued by Mar on the

occasion. To justify himself still farther, Mar states, that among the vouchers of his exculpation, there was the copy of another letter from James, written by him to one of his agents at Paris, dated the thirteenth of August, same year, wherein he justifies and approves of Mar's conduct, and expresses his regret for the aspersions which had been cast upon the earl about the plot.

Though James thus continued to profess his usual confidence in Mar's integrity, he had ever since he became acquainted with his pecuniary obligations to Stair resolved to withdraw that confidence from him by degrees, and in such a manner as might not be prejudicial to the adherents of the exiled family in Great Britain. But Mar, who, as James observed,* had put himself under such engagements that he could not any longer serve him in a public manner, and who, from the nature of these engagements, should have declined all knowledge of James's secrets, continued to meddle with his affairs as formerly, by taking the direction and management of those intrusted to Dillon, the confidential agent of James and the English Jacobites. In this way was Mar enabled for several years, when distrusted by James, to compel him in a manner to keep on good terms with him. From the natural timidity of James, and his anxiety to avoid an open breach with Mar, it is difficult to say how long matters might have remained in this awkward state, had not the attention of the Scottish Jacobites been drawn to Mar's pension by the report of the parliamentary committee concerning the conspiracy; and the representations of the bishop of Rochester respecting Mar's conduct, shortly after his arrival in France, brought matters to a crisis. In the letter last referred to, James thus intimates to Mr Lockhart the final dismissal of Mar. "I have been always unwilling to mention Mar, but I find myself indispensably engaged at present to let my Scots friends know that I have withdrawn my confidence entirely from him, as I shall be obliged to do from all who may be any ways influenced by him. This conduct is founded on the strongest and most urgent necessity in which my regard to my faithful subjects and servants have the greatest share. What is here said of Mar is not with a view of its being made public, there being no occasion for that, since many years ago he put himself under such engagements that he could not serve me in a public manner, neither has he been publicly employ'd by me."

The charges made by Atterbury against Mar were, *1mo*, That about the time he, the bishop, was sent prisoner to the Tower, Mar had written him a letter which was the cause of his banishment. *2do*, That he had betrayed the secrets of the Chevalier de St George to the British government, and had entered into a correspondence with them. *3tio*, That he had advised the Chevalier to resign his right to the crown for a pension; and lastly, that without consulting James, he drew up and presented a memorial to the duke of Orleans, containing a plan, which,

* Letter to Mr Lockhart, 31st August, 1724. Lockhart Papers, vol. ii. p. 131.

under the pretence of restoring him, would, if acted upon, have rendered his restoration for ever impracticable.

The grounds on which Atterbury founded the charge against Mar, of being the cause of his banishment, are detailed in the letter from Colonel Hay to Mr Lockhart before alluded to. It is there stated, that at the time Colonel Churchill met Mar at Paris, when he carried over Lord Carteret's letter, he informed Mar that the British government had intercepted three letters, sent by the same post, to three different persons, supposed to be then at Paris; and that, after being copied they were forwarded, and according to the Colonel's information, who arrived at Paris before the post, these letters reached their destination. One of these letters under a fictitious name was designed for Mar, and was duly delivered to him; and though fully aware of the discovery made by the government, he had the imprudence to return an answer, which he addressed to the same fictitious name with which the three letters were signed. In Mar's answer, the bishop's situation at the time, the death of his lady, his illness, his going to his country-house ten miles from London, &c. were so accurately described, that after the imprudent admission of Mrs Barnes respecting the dog, the government at once fixed upon the bishop as the author of the three letters. There was nothing, however, in the letters on which to ground even a charge of constructive treason; and although Mar was certainly to blame in writing a letter containing such pointed allusions, which he must have been aware would be intercepted at the post-office, there is no reason for believing, as insinuated by Atterbury, that he meant to insnare him.

As to the charge of having advised James to resign his right to the crown for a pension, Mar refers in his narrative to two letters which he wrote from Geneva to James and his agent, Dillon, on the twentieth of January, seventeen hundred and twenty; in the former of which he observed, that if James were to apply to the courts of France and Spain, it was probable that, at the approaching congress at Cambray, they might induce the British government to pay him a yearly allowance, which would help him in his difficulties, and the payment of which might be so contrived as neither to affect his honour nor prejudice his interest. The plan he proposed for effecting this was, that the money should not be paid directly to James himself, but should come through the hands of some foreign princes, who might be prevailed upon so to interpose as if James himself had no concern in the matter. The letter to Dillon was couched in the same strain, with this addition that the proposal should be made to the regent Orleans; but in neither of these letters was the most distant hint given, that James was to resign his right to the crown.

To understand the nature of the last charge against Mar, that he laid the scheme before the regent of France with a design to ruin James, Mar refers to the plan itself for his justification. The expulsion of the Stuarts from the British throne had been always looked upon by

the French court as an event which, by dividing the nation into rival factions, would enable France to humble and weaken an ancient and formidable rival. To encourage the Jacobites and Tories in their opposition to the new dynasty, and to embroil the nation in a civil war, the French ministry repeatedly promised to aid them in any attempts they might make to overturn the government; but true to the line of policy they had laid down for themselves, of allowing the opposing parties in the state to weaken each other's strength in their contest for ascendancy, they sided with the weaker party only to prolong the struggle, in the hope that, by thus keeping alive the spirit of discontent, France might be enabled to extend her power, and carry into effect her designs of conquest.

To remove the objections which such a policy opposed to the Restoration of James, Mar proposed that, upon such event taking place, Scotland and Ireland should be restored to their ancient state of independence, and protected in their trade, and thereby enabled, as they would be inclined, to support "the king in such a manner as he'd be under no necessity of entering into measures contrary to his inclinations to gratify the caprices, and allay the factions of his English subjects." * He also proposed that a certain number of French forces should remain in Britain after James was restored, till he had modelled and established the government on this footing, and that five thousand Scots and as many Irish troops should be lent to the French king, to be kept by him in pay for a certain number of years. Mar was fully aware that such a scheme would be highly unpopular in England, on which account he says, that although he had long ago formed it, he took no steps therein during the life of Cardinal Dubois, whom he knew to be particularly attached to the existing government of Britain; but that obstacle being removed, he laid it before the regent of France, who, he says, he had reason to believe, received it with approbation, as he sealed it up, and addressed it to the duke of Bourbon, and recommended it to his care. To excuse himself for laying the scheme before the duke of Orleans without the Chevalier's knowledge, he states that he did so to prevent James, in case of the scheme being discovered, being blamed by those who, for particular reasons, would be displeased at it; but that immediately after the delivery he acquainted James thereof, and sent him a copy of it, and at same time represented to him the absolute necessity of keeping it secret. Notwithstanding of this injunction, Colonel Hay sent a copy of it to the bishop of Rochester, and Mar attributes the bad feeling which Atterbury afterwards displayed towards him, to the proposal he made for restoring Scotland to her independence.

The memorial was presented by Mar to the duke of Orleans in September, seventeen hundred and twenty-three; but so little secrecy was

* Lockhart Papers, vol. ii. p. 183.

observed, that, in the month of January following, a statement appeared in the public newspapers, that a certain peer, then at Paris, had laid a plan before the regent for restoring the exiled family. Though the British government must have been aware, or at all events must have suspected, after such a notification, that Mar was the author of the scheme, his pension was still continued, and they even favoured him still more by allowing the family estate, which was exposed to sale, to fall again into the hands of the family on favourable terms.

In reference to that part of Mar's justification, which relates to this affair, Colonel Hay, whom Mar accuses in his narrative of a design to ruin his character, remarks as follows:—"Now, I am come to say something about a memoriall, of which, in the abstract of the narrative, it is said a copy of it was sent to the king, (the Chevalier de St George,) after it had been presented to the duke of Orleans, yet the king never acknowledged the receipt of it. Mar does me justice in saying that I approved of certain articles relating to Scotland, though I did not at the time believe them to be of so great importance, as he pretended they were, neither were they represented as the foundation of a scheme, which, had the king entered into it, must have put a stop to his restoration for ever, without which these articles could be of no use. I disapproved of the memoriall from the beginning, because, as I told Mar when I first saw it, that I thought the scheme impracticable; that England was not to be conquered with 6000 foot souldiers, or the king's friends in England to be led blindly into their own ruin, with sevrall other reasons I need not repeat; and tho Mar pretends that this was contrived for the advantage of Scotland, I reallie cannot see what benefite Irelands being more powerfull than England woud bring to us, and as I could not perceive at the time that Mar could have any reason to believe that Orleans was any wayes disposed to act for the king, I treated the presenting of it, by the king's minister, then at Paris, as a very imprudent act, since I thought ther was a greater likelihood of Orleans doing a service to his strict ally, Hanover, by discovering it, than of his entering into it: however, my caution in divulging it was very great, and I thought it of such consequence, that none entrusted by the king should at least be the first to mention it; that I did not open my lips about it to any soul living during my absence from Rome, nor after I returned, till I knew Mar shewd some particular articles in it to some people at Paris, informing them that the memoriall, because it was for the interest of Scotland, was the reason of his disgrace. Then, indeed, when I found the memoriall to be no more a secret, I thought it necessary to send a true copy of it, that so were a false one handed about, a true copy might be produced: and it does not consist with the king's knowledge that the duke of Orleans sealed up the memoriall, and recommended it to the duke of Bourbon, neither does it appear naturall, since Orleans dyed suddenlie, left his papers in the greatest confusion,

was not in good terms with his successor at the time of his death, and could nowaysee foresee that he was to succeed him in the ministry." *

On reviewing the whole circumstances of Mar's conduct, evolved by Atterbury's charges, it must be admitted that his justification is far from being complete; but though there exist strong suspicions of his fidelity, there are not sufficient data on which to found a charge of wilful and deliberate treachery. From the position in which he placed himself as a debtor of Stair, and a pensioner of the British government, he could no longer be trusted with safety by his Jacobite colleagues, and as he had come under an obligation, as a condition of his pension, not to act in behalf of the Stuarts, he was bound in honour to have abstained from all farther interference in their affairs; but for reasons only known to himself, he continued to act as if no alteration of his relations with the exiled family had taken place since he was first intrusted by them. Selfish in his disposition, and regardless whether the Chevalier de St George, or the elector of Hanover wore the crown, provided his ambition was gratified, it is probable that, without harbouring any intention to betray, he wished to preserve an appearance of promoting the interests of the Stuarts, in order that the compact which he had entered into with the British government, might, in the event of a restoration of that family, form no bar to his advancement under a new order of things; but whatever were his views or motives, his design, if he entertained any such as has been supposed, was frustrated by his disgrace in seventeen hundred and twenty-five.

The breach with Mar was looked upon by some of the Jacobites as a rash act on the part of the Chevalier, and they considered that he had been sacrificed to gratify Colonel Hay, between whom and Mar an irreconcilable difference had for some time existed. This opinion had a pernicious influence upon the councils of the Chevalier, and to the rupture with Mar may be attributed the *denouement* of an unhappy difference between James and his consort, which, for a time, fixed the attention of all the European courts.

In the year seventeen hundred and twenty the Chevalier de St George had espoused the Princess Clementina, grand-daughter of John Sobieski, king of Poland, who had born him two sons, viz. Charles Edward, celebrated for his exploits in seventeen hundred and forty-five, and Henry Benedict, afterwards known as Cardinal York.† Prince Charles was placed under the tuition of one Mrs Sheldon, who, it is said, obtained a complete ascendancy over the Princess Clementina. As alleged by the partisans of Colonel Hay, she was entirely devoted to Mar, and served him as a spy in the family. To counteract the rising influence of Hay, she is represented to have incited the princess against him to such a degree, as to render the whole household a scene of constant

* Lockhart Papers, vol. ii. p. 206.

† The Prince was born on 31st December, 1720,—the Cardinal on 6th March, 1725.

disturbance. But whatever may have been the conduct of Mrs Sheldon, there is good reason for believing that the cause of irritation proceeded entirely from the behaviour of Hay and his lady, who appear not to have treated the princess with the respect due to her rank, and who, from the sway they appear to have had over the mind of her husband, indulged in liberties which did not become them.

To relieve herself from the indignities which she alleged she suffered, the princess resolved to retire into a convent, of which resolution the Chevalier first received notice from a confidant of the princess, who also informed him that nothing but the dismissal of Colonel Hay from his service would induce her to alter her resolution. The princess afterwards personally notified her determination to her husband, who remonstrated with her upon the impropriety of a step which would prejudice them in the eyes of their friends, and make their enemies triumph; but she remained inflexible. In a memoir* which the Chevalier drew up in relation to this subject in his own justification, he asserts that he afterwards ascertained, from a person of great worth and consideration, who had endeavoured to prevail upon the princess to forego her resolution, that her displeasure was not confined to "Lord Inverness," but that it also extended to "Lord Dunbar," (a title which he had recently conferred on Mr James Murray,) who had been appointed tutor to the young princess, "under pretence that the prince's religion was in danger while he had the care of them."

Finding the Chevalier fully determined to retain Colonel Hay in his service, the princess made preparations for carrying her resolution into effect; and, accordingly, on the morning of Thursday, the fifteenth day of November, seventeen hundred and twenty-five, under the pretence of taking an airing in her carriage, she drove off to the convent of St Cecilia, into which she retired, without taking any notice of a long letter, by way of remonstrance, which her husband had written her on the eleventh.† In a letter which she afterwards wrote to her sister, explaining the cause of her retirement, and which, it is understood, was intended as an answer to her husband's memoir, she says, "Mr Hay and his lady are the cause that I am retired into a convent. I received your letter in their behalf, and returned you an answer, only to do you a pleasure and to oblige the king; but it all has been to no purpose, for instead of making them my friends, all the civilities I have shown them have only served to render them the more insolent. Their unworthy treatment of me has in short reduced me to such an extremity, and I am in such a cruel situation, that I had rather suffer death than live in the king's palace with persons that have no religion nor conscience, and who, not content with having been the authors of so fatal a separation betwixt the king and me, are continually teasing him every day to part

* Appendix, No. V.

† This letter, and a previous one, dated 9th November, are published among the Lockhart Papers, vol. ii. p. 216.

with his best friends and his most faithful subjects. This at length determined me to retire into a convent, there to spend the rest of my days in lamenting my misfortunes, after having been fretted for six years together by the most mortifying indignities and affronts that can be imagined." *

The Chevalier was anxious that his friends should form a favourable opinion of the course he had adopted in resisting the demand of his wife; and, accordingly, on the morning after her departure, he assembled all his household, and explained to them fully the different steps he had taken to prevent the extraordinary proceeding of the princess. He also entered into a justification of his own conduct, and concluded by assuring them, that it should be his principal care to educate his two sons in such a manner as might contribute one day to the happiness of the people he expected to govern. With the same view, he immediately despatched copies of the memoir, and of the two letters he had written to the princess, to Mr Lockhart, to be shown to his friends in Scotland; but as the memoir and letters had been made public, copies of them were publicly hawked through the streets of London and Edinburgh, with a scurrilous introduction, several weeks before Mr Lockhart received his communication. This was apparently done with the approbation of the government, as the magistrates of Edinburgh compelled the porters of the city to cry the papers through the streets.† At first, the Jacobites imagined that these documents were forgeries got up by the government, to make the Jacobite cause contemptible in the eyes of the people; but they were soon undeceived, and great was their consternation when they found that the papers in question were genuine.‡

The court of Rome seemed to approve of the Chevalier's conduct in refusing to remove Hay; but when it was understood that the removal of Murray, the young princes' governor, was considered by their mother even

* Lockhart Papers; vol. ii. p. 265.

† Ibid. p. 242—261, 360.

‡ Mr Lockhart, in a letter to the Chevalier, 12th March, 1726, makes the following judicious observations on the affair of the separation. "Differences 'twixt man and wife, even in a private family, is so delicate a point, that a third person, without a very particular call and immediat concern, cannot well venture to interpose, and much less woud I presume to say any thing on so nice and tender a subject, were it not attended with consequences wherein so many thousands are affected, and doth thereby become a publick nationall concern. Consider, Sir, I beseech you, the many advantages which the enimys of you and your family draw from what has hapned, by inventing and propagating many stories which tend to lessen your character in the world, and which, tho ever so false and improbable, are credited by some, and at least creat fears and doubts in others, and by blasting the hopes of your leaving a numerous issue behind you. This very article is of the last consequence, for it is a truth naturall to imagine, and consists with my particular knowledge, by the opportunities I had of conversing often and knowing the sentiments of my unkle, the late Lord Wharton, and his intimates, that the enimys of your family were by nothing more encouraged to drive on and persist in their rebellious schemes, than that in you alone existed the royal race of Stuart, and were in hopes that with you it woud expire; whereas a numerous issue subsisting, is one of the most powerful arguments in behalf of your just cause, as it draws alongst with it a disputable succession, whilst the present settlement continues, the many miserys whereof England has by dear bought experience been taught."—Vol. ii. p. 258.

of more importance than the dismissal of Hay, the pope sent a message to James, intimating that if Murray were removed and Mrs Sheldon restored to favour, a reconciliation might be effected with the princess,—that, however, he would not insist on Mrs Sheldon being taken back, but that he could not approve of nor consent to Murray being about the prince. The Chevalier did not relish such interference, and returned for answer, that he had no occasion for the pope's advice, and that he did not consider his consent necessary in an affair which related to the private concerns of his family. As James was the pensioner of his holiness, the answer may be considered rather uncourteous, but the Chevalier looked upon such meddling as an insult which his dignity could not brook. The pope, however, renewed his application to bring about a reconciliation, and with such earnestness, that James became so uneasy as to express a wish to retire from his dominions.* By the efforts, however, it is believed, of the princess's friends, aided by the repeated remonstrances of a respectable portion of the Jacobites, the Chevalier at length reluctantly dismissed Hay from his service. According to Mr Lockhart, Hay and his wife had obtained such a complete ascendancy over the Chevalier, that they had the direction of all matters, whether public or domestic, and taking advantage of the confidence which he reposed in them, they instilled into his mind unfavourable impressions of his best friends, and by insinuating that the princess, and every person that did not truckle to them, were factious, and that their complaints against the colonel and his lady proceeded from a feeling of disrespect to himself, his temper became by degrees soured towards his wife. To escape from the insolence of these favourites, the princess, as has been seen, embraced, for a time, a conventual life; and while some of the Chevalier's adherents, who had lost their estates in his service, left his court in disgust, others were ordered away. It was currently reported at the time that Mrs Hay was the king's mistress, and that jealousy on the part of the Princess Clementina was the cause of the rupture; but persons who had ample opportunities of observation could observe no impropriety, and the princess herself never made any such accusation. The pertinacity with which James clung to his favourites greatly injured his affairs, and lessened his character in public opinion.†

The death of George the First, which took place on Sunday, the twenty-second day of June, seventeen hundred and twenty-seven, while on his journey to Hanover, raised anew the hopes of the Chevalier.‡ He was

* Letters from the Chevalier to Mr Lockhart, 3d Dec. 1725, and 19th Jan. 1726. Vol. ii. p. 253—256.

† Lockhart Papers, vol. ii. p. 339.

‡ George I., when electoral prince, married the Princess Sophia Dorothy, the daughter of William, duke of Zell. After bringing him a son and daughter, she was superseded for a mistress. The princess had been admired before her marriage by Count Königsmark. He arrived at Hanover while the prince her husband was with the army. It was reported to the elector that his daughter-in-law received the count in the evening in her own apartments. Being watched, he was assassinated by the orders and in the presence

at Bologna when this intelligence reached him, and so anxious was he to be nearer England to watch the progress of events, and to be ready to avail himself of the services of his friends in Britain to effect his restoration, that he left Bologna privately for Lorraine, the day after the news was brought him of King George's death, although the princess, who had just left the convent by the advice of her friends, was at the time on her way from Rome to Bologna to join him. The journey of the princess being publicly known, the Chevalier availed himself of the circumstance to conceal his real design, by giving out that he had left Bologna to meet her. On arriving at Nancy, the Chevalier despatched couriers to Vienna, Madrid, and Paris, announcing the object of his journey, and at the same time sent a messenger with a letter to Mr Lockhart, who, in consequence of a warrant being issued by the British government for his apprehension, had a few months before taken refuge on the continent, and was then residing at Liege. This letter, which is dated twenty-second July, seventeen hundred and twenty-seven, embodying as it does the views of the Chevalier, the state of his circumstances, and his opinion of passing events, possesses considerable interest. It is as follows:—

“As soon as I heard of the elector of Hanover's death, I thought it incumbent on me to put myself in a condition of profiting of what might be the consequences of so great an event, which I was sensible I could never do at so great a distance as Italy; and that made me take the resolution of leaving that country out of hand and drawing near to England, that I might be in readiness, without loss of time, to profit of any commotion that might ensue in Great Britain, or of any alteration that might happen in the present system in Europe on Hanover's death. At

of the elector, one evening as he was leaving the palace. It was generally believed that she was innocent, and that by the artifice of a mistress of Ernest Augustus, who had substituted another person for the princess, he was drawn to the spot. The prince, on his return, immured her in the castle of Alden, where she was confined for thirty-two years, and died only seven months before her husband. Her crime was never proved. Convinced of her innocence, her son, George II., secretly kept a picture of her in his possession; and on the morning after the news of his father's death reached London, he hung up the portrait in his ante-chamber.* Mr Lockhart (*Memoirs*, vol. ii. p. 252.) says, that about eight or ten weeks after the death of George I. a copy of a letter (of which he gives a translation from the French,) was handed about at most of the courts of Europe, especially in Germany, giving an account of his death. The letter stated, that when the electress (wife of George I.) was dangerously ill of her last sickness, she delivered to a faithful friend a letter to her husband, and exacted a promise that it should be delivered into his own hands. It contained a protestation of her innocence, a reproach for his hard usage and unjust treatment of her, and concluded with a summons or citation to her husband, to appear within a year and day at the bar of divine justice, and there to answer for the long and many injuries she had received from him. As this letter could not, with safety to the bearer, be delivered in England or Hanover, it was given to him in his coach on the road. He opened it immediately, supposing it came from Hanover. He was so struck with the contents of the letter, that he was seized with convulsions, followed by apoplexy, and soon expired. This story was discredited by some and believed by others, and from the industry displayed in propagating it, it was supposed that it was concocted by the friends of the electress, and that her son, George II., and the king of Prussia were parties to it.

* Oxford's Reminiscences.

the same time that I left Italy I despatched expresses to Vienna, Madrid, and Paris, and have already received the return of that to Vienna, by which it is very plain that the emperor would be very desirous that I could be in a condition of making an attempt without any foreign force, and would not even obstruct my own passing privately thro his dominions for that effect, tho his ministers declare at the same time that since the preliminaries are signed he cannot give me any assistance.

“ The answers from France and Spain are not yet come, but when they do, ’tis to be expected they will not be more favourable, so that for the present no foreign assistance can be expected ; but with all that, the present conjuncture appears so favorable in all its circumstances that had I only consulted my own inclinations, I should certainly out of hand have crossed the seas, and seen at any rate what I could do for my own and my subjects delivery ; but as on this occasion I act for them as well as myself, and cannot hope without their concurrence to succeed in what I may undertake in our mutual behalf, I find myself under the necessity of making no further steps without their advice.

“ ’Tis true the disadvantages I lye under are great and many ; I have but a small stock of money, scarce sufficient to transport what few arms I have and what officers I may get to follow me on this occasion. I’m sensible that it is next to impossible that a concert should be established amongst my friends at home, such as would be sufficient for a rising in arms in my favor before my arrivall, and by what is said before, the little hopes of foreign assistance will be sufficiently seen ; but with all this, many arguments may be brought to authorise an undertaking which at first sight might appear rash. Our countrie is now (whatever the outward appearance may be) in great confusion and disorder, the people have had time to feel the weight of a foreign yoke, and are nowayes favorably inclined towards the present elector of Hanover. That concert, vigor, and unanimity which does not precede my crossing the seas, may attend and follow such an event, and if the chief great powers in Europe are not all my declared friends, there is not one that is my enemy, and that has not a particular interest to wish me on the throne ; and were I in person in Britain at the head of even a small number of my own subjects, it might naturally alter very much the present system of some or other of them during the time of the congress, (that about to be held at Aix-la-Chapelle,) but should it once meet, and affairs be adjusted there on the foundation of the quadruple alliance, foreign affairs will take quite another face, and in all probability would long remain so, whilst the present elector of Hanover and his son might have time to ingratiate themselves with the English nation ; so that all put together it must be concluded that if the present conjuncture is slip’d, it cannot be expected that we ever can have so favorable a one for acting by ourselves, and that we run the risk of allowing the general affairs of Europe to be less favorable to us than they are at present ; so that what-

ever is not absolutely desperate ought certainly to be undertaken, and the sooner the better.

“ I desire therefore you may think seriously on this matter, and let me have your opinion as soon as possible, and if my going into England be not advisable, whether my going to the Highlands of Scotland might not be found proper.” To this letter is appended the following postscript in James’s own handwriting. “ The contents of this will show you the confidence I have in you, and I expect you will let me know by the bearer, (Allan Cameron,) your advice and opinion, particularly on this important occasion.”*

From Cameron Mr Lockhart was surprised to learn that the Chevalier, notwithstanding the certainty he was under that he could look for no foreign aid, and that his friends, both in Scotland and England, had made no preparations to receive him, was not only inclined, but seemed even resolved, to repair to the Highlands of Scotland, and there raise the standard of insurrection, and that Colonel Hay, whom he had so lately discarded, was one of his counsellors on the occasion. As Cameron, who had visited the Highlands some time before, and was well aware of the almost insuperable difficulties which opposed themselves to the contemplated step, seemed to approve of the Chevalier’s design; Mr Lockhart expressed his wonder that one who knew the state of the Highlands so well, and the determination generally of the Highlanders not to take the field again till they saw England actually engaged, could advise his master to risk his person, and expose the country and his friends to certain destruction. He observed, that there were indeed some persons who would venture their all in any attempt headed by the Chevalier in person, but as matters then stood, the number of such persons would be few, and that the great majority of those that might be expected to join him would consist of idle persons, actuated solely by the hopes of plunder, who would abandon him eventually to the mercy of the government troops that would be poured into the Highlands, and that, under the pretence of punishing the few who had taken up arms, they would ravage the country and cut off the inhabitants, for doing which the government only wanted such a handle.

In accordance with these sentiments, Mr Lockhart represented in his answer to the Chevalier’s letter, that the design he contemplated was one of the greatest importance, and though it was very proper for him to put himself in a condition to avail himself of any favourable circumstances that might occur, yet that appearances did not warrant such expectations,—that the people of England seemed to have forgot all the grievances under which they had laboured during the late reign, in hope of a better order of things, and that until they found themselves disappointed, he could expect nothing from them,—that with regard to

* Lockhart Papers, vol. ii. p. 356.

such of the people of Scotland as were favourably disposed, they could not possibly do any thing without being previously provided with many material things they stood in need of, and that before these could be supplied, many difficulties had to be surmounted and much time would be lost, during which preparations would be made on all hands to crush them,—that although it would be of advantage to strike a blow before the government had time to strengthen themselves at home and abroad, yet the attempt was not advisable without necessary precautions and provisions to insure its success, as without these such an attempt would be desperate, and might ruin the cause for ever,—that no man living would be happier than he (Mr Lockhart) to see the dawning of a fair day, but when every point of the compass was black and cloudy, he could not but dread very bad weather, and such as could give no encouragement to a traveller to proceed on his voyage, and might prove the utter ruin of himself and attendants.* This judicious advice was not thrown away upon the Chevalier, who at once laid aside his design of going to Scotland, and retired to Avignon, where he proposed to reside under the protection of the pope; but his stay at Avignon was short, being obliged to leave that place in consequence, it is believed, of the representations of the French government to the court of Rome. He returned to Italy.

* Lockhart Papers, vol. ii. p. 360.

CHAPTER XVII.

Treaties of Seville and Paris—Disputes in Parliament about reducing the army—Ineffectual attempt to repeal the septennial act—Message from the Crown to augment the forces—Debates—New Parliament—Whig and Tory invectives—Convention of the Prado—Debates in Parliament—Defeat of the Tories, who retire from Parliament—Scheme of Lord-President Forbes for securing the allegiance of the Clans—War with Spain—Lord Marischal sent to Madrid by the Chevalier de St George—Jacobite association in Edinburgh—Drummond of Bochaldu arrives at Rome—Jacobite intrigues at Paris—Death of the Emperor Charles VI.—Accession of Maria Theresa—Confederacy against her—Neutrality of Hanover—Meeting of the Hungarian Diet—Speech of the Queen—Austrians ravage Bavaria—Retirement of Walpole—Proposed overtures to the discontented Whigs from the Chevalier de St George—Drummond of Bochaldu arrives at Edinburgh, and Murray of Broughton at Paris—Plan of a French invasion—Charles, eldest son of the Chevalier de St George, arrives at Paris—Preparations for invasion—Alarm of the British ministry—Preparations for defence—Sailing of the French fleet—Embarkation and failure of the expedition—Declaration of war between France and England—Arrival of Murray of Broughton at Paris—Interview with the Prince, who resolves to proceed to Scotland.

THE natural desire to preserve his German dominions on the one hand, and a wish to establish himself and his descendants in his newly acquired kingdoms against the designs of the abettors of the house of Stuart on the other, induced George the First to enter into a variety of treaties, and to form many alliances which seemed only calculated to draw Great Britain into every continental dispute, and, as the Jacobites justly looked upon war as the best auxiliary to their schemes, to endanger that very succession which he was so anxious to perpetuate. But although warlike preparations were made on all sides, and partial hostilities committed, the opposing states were averse to war; and after many negotiations, the powers at variance agreed to certain preliminaries, which were signed at Vienna on the thirty-first day of May, seventeen hundred and twenty-seven, by which it was, *inter alia*, agreed that hostilities should immediately cease; that the charter of the Ostend company, which was injurious to the commerce of England and France, should be suspended for seven years, and that a reference of all disputes should be made to a general congress to be held within four months at Aix-la-Chapelle.*

For the convenience of the French minister the congress was transferred to Soissons, where a peace would have been immediately concluded, had not the death of George the First raised new hopes of a Jacobite restoration in the minds of the emperor, Charles the Sixth, and Philip the Fifth of Spain. It has been alleged that these two sovereigns had formerly entered into a secret treaty to restore the Chevalier de St George to the throne of Great Britain; but no evidence has yet been discovered of its

* Coxe, Kings of Spain, Rousset, Recueil d'Actes, &c.

existence, although there are good grounds for supposing that they had in view the expulsion of the house of Hanover. But whatever were the views of Charles and Philip in regard to the restoration of the exiled family at the period in question, their hopes were speedily extinguished by the tranquil succession of George the Second, and the retention of Walpole in the post of prime minister. Thus disappointed in his expectations, the king of Spain acceded to the preliminaries of Vienna, which accession was followed by the treaty of Seville, to which England, France, and Spain, were parties. As this treaty stipulated for the garrisoning of the Italian fortresses by Spanish troops, the suppression of the Ostend company, and revoked the commercial privileges enjoyed by the subjects of the emperor, Charles declined to accede to it, and even threatened to involve Europe in a general war rather than give his assent; but he at length yielded a reluctant compliance, and signed the second treaty of Vienna in March, seventeen hundred and thirty-one, by which the general tranquillity of Europe was established.

The nation naturally expected that the restoration of peace would have been followed by a reduction of the standing army; but Walpole had too much penetration not to see the dangers to which the Hanover succession would be exposed, were such a system adopted under existing circumstances, and he formed his resolution accordingly. In the parliamentary session of seventeen hundred and thirty-one, Sir W. Strickland, secretary, having moved that the army should be maintained to the same extent as in the preceding year, Lord Morpeth moved an amendment, that the number should be reduced from eighteen to twelve thousand men, which was supported by Sirs William Wyndham, Watkins, William Wynne, John Barnard, and others, and Lord Harvey. Sir Robert Walpole, his brother Horace, and Sir Philip York, the attorney-general, afterwards Lord Chancellor Hardwicke, argued for the motion. On the part of the ministry it was maintained that the maintenance of such a considerable number of land-forces was necessary to defeat the designs of the disaffected, secure the internal tranquillity of the kingdom, defend it in case of foreign attack, and enable it to take vigorous measures in the event of a general war,—that the science of war was so much altered, that little reliance could be placed upon a militia in defending the kingdom from external attacks, and that all nations were obliged, as a security against the encroachments of neighbouring powers, to maintain standing armies,—that the number of troops was too trifling to excite the jealousy of the people, even under an ambitious monarch,—that the idea of infringing the liberties of his subjects had never entered into his majesty's thoughts,—that it could not be supposed that the officers, among whom were many gentlemen of family and fortune, would ever concur in a design to enslave their country,—and that as the forces, now in pay, were annually voted and maintained by the parliament, the representative of the people, they could not properly be deemed a standing army. On the part

of the tories or opposition, it was argued that a standing force in time of peace was unconstitutional, and had been always considered dangerous,—that a militia could be as well disciplined as a standing army, and that the former had stronger motives to incite them to courage and perseverance than hired mercenaries,—that the internal peace of the country could be sufficiently preserved by the civil power,—that the number of the disaffected, which was now quite contemptible, might be considerably increased, if a standing army were kept up, and other arbitrary measures pursued,—that although other nations had had recourse to standing armies for protection against neighbouring states, they had enslaved the nations they were destined to protect; but that Great Britain, from her insular situation, had no need of such doubtful protection,—that this situation was strengthened by a numerous navy which had given her the dominion of the sea,—and that if this force was properly disposed, every attempt at invasion would be rendered, if not altogether impracticable, at least ineffectual,—that the army, though sufficiently numerous to endanger the liberties of the people, could be of very little service, from the great extent of coast, in preventing an invasion,—that although they did not question his majesty's regard for the liberties of his subjects, they were apprehensive, that should a standing army be ingrafted upon the constitution, another prince of very different dispositions might afterwards arise, who would not stickle to employ the army to subvert the constitution; and though many of the officers were gentlemen of property and honour, they might be discarded, and others of more pliant dispositions substituted in their places,—that with regard to the argument that the army was wholly dependent on the parliament, it was sufficiently answered by the fact, that an army had formerly turned their swords against the parliament, for whose defence they had been raised, and had overturned the constitution both in church and state,—that independent of this, the hardship to the people of England would be equally the same whether a standing army should be at once declared indispensable, or regularly voted from year to year according to the pleasure of the ministry,—that the sanction of the legislature to measures unconstitutional in themselves, and repugnant to the genius of the people, instead of yielding satisfaction, would serve only to demonstrate that ministerial influence operating upon a venal parliament, was the most effectual way to forge the chains of national slavery. In addition to these reasons, the opposition urged the reduction of the standing army as a necessary consequence of a declaration made by his majesty, that the peace of Europe was established, and that he had nothing so much at heart as the ease and prosperity of his people; and it was argued, that if eighteen thousand men were sufficient on the supposed eve of a general war, a less number would certainly suffice when peace was perfectly restored. All these arguments, however, against an undiminished standing army were quite ineffectual, and the motion was carried by a large majority. A similar result took place in the upper house.

Next session the opposition resumed the subject, and urged their arguments for a reduction of the standing army with such vehemence, that the ministry found themselves obliged to have recourse to the old bugbears of popery and the pretender, to obtain an acquiescence in their measures. By insisting, as Sir Robert Walpole did, that the chief thing desired by the Jacobites was a reduction of the army,—that no reduction had ever been made but what gave them fresh hopes, and encouraged them to raise tumults against the government; and that the anxiety of the Jacobite party was so notorious, that if a reduction was made, they would send off an express by post-horses that very night to the pretender: he again carried his point. But these defeats only stimulated the tories to fresh opposition. Walpole had made himself odious in the eyes of the nation by proposing his celebrated excise scheme, which he was obliged to abandon from deference to public opinion, and a regard to his own personal safety. To keep up the odium against him, the opposition are said to have spread a report that he intended to revive his hated scheme in the session of seventeen hundred and thirty-four; but on his declaring that he had no such intention, they resorted to other plans to get him displaced. Besides the tories, there was a party of disappointed whigs headed by Mr William Pulteney, who joined in the opposition. Pulteney had distinguished himself by his opposition to the Oxford administration, and on the accession of the house of Hanover was made secretary of state. When Walpole retired from office he also resigned; but as Walpole did not procure for him the situation he expected on the return of that minister to power, he broke with him: he, however, afterwards accepted the appointment of cofferer of the household; but, on a fresh disagreement, he was dismissed from office, and, from that time forward, became the leader of the discontented whigs. Among other plans which the opposition now resorted to was the repeal of the septennial act,—a measure which the tories and Jacobites had long desired; but as Pulteney and his whig friends had promoted the act, they were reluctant to hazard their consistency by concurring in any measure for its repeal, in consequence of which the question had been delayed. That reluctance, however, being now overcome, a motion was made by Mr Bromley in the house of commons for leave to bring in a bill to repeal the septennial act, and for the more frequent meeting and calling of parliaments. The principal speaker in support of the motion was Sir William Wyndham, who, in a speech of great boldness, displayed the rancour of the opposition in the following revolting portrait which he drew of Walpole in the character of a supposed minister:—

“ Let us suppose a man abandoned to all notions of virtue and honour, of no great family, and but a mean fortune, raised to be chief minister of state by the concurrence of many whimsical events,—afraid, or unwilling to trust any but creatures of his own making,—lost to all sense of shame and reputation,—ignorant of his country’s true interest, —pursuing no aim but that of aggrandizing himself and his favourites,

—in foreign affairs trusting none but those who, from the nature of their education, cannot possibly be qualified for the service of their country, or give weight and credit to their negotiations. Let us suppose the true interest of the nation, by such means, neglected or misunderstood,—her honour tarnished,—her importance lost,—her trade insulted,—her merchants plundered, and her sailors murdered, and all these circumstances overlooked, lest his administration should be endangered. Suppose him next possessed of immense wealth, the plunder of the nation, with a parliament chiefly composed of members whose seats are purchased, and whose votes are bought at the expense of the public treasure. In such a parliament, suppose all attempts made to inquire into his conduct, or to relieve the nation from the distress which has been entailed upon it by his administration. Suppose him screened by a corrupt majority of his creatures, whom he retains in daily pay, or engages in his particular interest by distributing among them those posts and places which ought never to have been bestowed upon any but for the good of the public. Let him plume himself upon his scandalous victory, because he has obtained a parliament like a packed jury, ready to acquit him at all adventures. Let us suppose him domineering with insolence over all the men of ancient families, over all the men of sense, figure, or fortune in the nation; as he has no virtue of his own, ridiculing it in others, and endeavouring to destroy and corrupt it in all. I am still not prophesying; I am only supposing, and the case I am going to suppose I hope will never happen: but with such a minister and such a parliament, let us suppose a prince upon the throne, either for want of true information, or for some other reason unacquainted with the inclinations and interest of his people, weak and hurried away by unbounded ambition and insatiable avarice. This case has never happened in this nation; I hope, I say, it will never exist. But as it is possible it may, could there any greater curse happen to a nation than such a prince on the throne; advised, and solely advised by such a minister, and that minister supported by such a parliament? The nature of mankind cannot be altered by human laws. The existence of such a prince, or such a minister, we cannot prevent by act of parliament; but the existence of such a parliament I think we may; and as such a parliament is much more likely to exist, and may do more mischief, while the septennial law remains in force, than if it were repealed; therefore, I most heartily wish for the repeal of it.”

This virulent invective, which was levelled as much at the king as the minister, was answered by Walpole in a corresponding tone, and the motion was negatived by a great majority. Emboldened by this success, Walpole, about the end of the session, and after a considerable number of the opposition members had retired to their homes in the country, delivered a message from the crown, expressing a desire that his majesty might be empowered to augment his forces, if occasion should require, between the dissolution of parliament, then about to take place,

and the election of another. A motion for taking the message into consideration, though warmly opposed in the house of commons, was carried, and an address presented to the king signifying compliance. Considerable opposition was also made in the house of peers with as little effect as in the commons. The ministerial influence was in fact too powerful to be resisted with any probability of success. In particular, the minister, by a proper distribution of places among the Scottish members and their friends, had almost the whole of them at his nod; and, accordingly, a very large majority of the Scottish representatives were always to be found swelling the ministerial majorities. To prevent the influence of the minister extending itself to the elections in North Britain, motions were successively brought forward in the house of peers by the earl of Marchmont and the duke of Bedford, which were supported by the earls of Chesterfield, Winchelsea, and Stair, and other peers. Both motions were opposed by the dukes of Newcastle and Argyle, and were of course negatived. To revenge himself against Stair, who had always served the government with fidelity and zeal, Walpole deprived him of his regiment; and several other peers, who had opposed the excise scheme, which he was forced to abandon, were also dismissed from their employments.

The elections for the new parliament were warmly contested, but ministerial influence preponderated. The parliament met on the fourteenth of January, seventeen hundred and thirty-five. A division took place upon the address, which showed the relative strength of both parties, two hundred and sixty-five having voted for the address, and one hundred and eighty-five against it. The session was not distinguished by any remarkable occurrence, except some proceedings in the house of peers, in relation to matters contained in a petition presented to the house, signed by the dukes of Hamilton, Queensberry, and Montrose, the earls of Dundonald, Marchmont, and Stair, in which it was stated that undue influence had been used, in the election of the sixteen Scottish representative peers. The house fixed a day for taking the petition into consideration; but they afterwards resolved to adjourn the consideration of it to a short day, before which the petitioners were ordered to declare whether they intended to dispute the election of all the sixteen peers, or only the election of some, and which of them. The petitioners declared that they did not intend to controvert the election of the sixteen peers; but they considered it their duty to offer evidence, that undue methods had been used to influence the election, which were dangerous to the constitution, and which might, if not prevented in future, equally affect the rights of the elected peers, as those of the other peers of Scotland. The petitioners were next, after a warm debate, ordered to lay before the house a written statement, detailing the instances of the undue practices and illegal methods they alleged, and upon which they intended to proceed, and the names of the persons they suspected to be guilty. The petitioners, thereupon, represented to the house, that as they had no

intention to appear as accusers, they could not take upon them to name particular persons who might have been implicated in those illegal practices, but that their lordships, on taking the proper examinations, would discover them. They, however, averred, from the information they had received, that the list of the sixteen Scottish representative peers had been made out previous to the election, by persons high in trust under the crown,—that this list was shown to peers as one approved of by the crown, was in consequence called the king's list, from which, except in one or two instances of peers who were expected to conform, there was to be no variation,—that peers were solicited to vote for this list without alteration,—that attempts were made to engage peers to vote for this list by promising them pensions, &c.,—that sums of money were given for this purpose,—and that pensions, offices, and discharges of crown debts were actually granted to peers who voted for this list, and to their relations,—and that on the day of election, a body of troops was drawn up in the Abbey court of Edinburgh, for no other purpose, it would appear, than of over-awing the electors. This explanation was deemed unsatisfactory, and the petition was rejected; but the allegations which it contained were not without foundation.

During the two following sessions, the opposition, overwhelmed by the weight of ministerial influence, made a feeble resistance; but in the session of seventeen hundred and thirty-eight, they endeavoured to excite a warlike feeling against Spain, on account of the dissensions on the subject of Spanish commerce; and to embarrass the ministry at the same time, they insisted, though certainly at the expense of their consistency, to reduce the army from seventeen thousand four hundred, to twelve thousand men. Although Walpole might have urged the danger of a war with Spain, into which the opposition was attempting to embroil the nation, as a pretence for keeping up the army, he did not avail himself of such a line of argument, but openly declared that even if the government had no other enemies than the pretender, and the disaffected part of the king's subjects, the danger from these was a sufficient reason for keeping up the army. An attempt was made to turn the fears of the minister into ridicule; but he maintained that danger did exist, and in an energetic speech, drew a portrait of a true Jacobite, which many who heard him could not fail to observe, was intended as a representation of themselves.

"I am sorry to see, sir, (he observed,) that this is a sort of fear, which many amongst us endeavour to turn into ridicule; and for that purpose they tell us that though many of our subjects are discontented and uneasy, very few are disaffected. I must beg leave to be of a different opinion; for I believe most of the discontents and uneasinesses that appear among the people, proceed originally from disaffection. No man of common prudence will profess himself openly a Jacobite. By so doing he may not only injure his private fortune, but he must render himself less able to serve effectually the cause he has embraced. Your

right Jacobite, sir, disguises his true sentiments. He roars out for revolution principles; he pretends to be a great friend to liberty, and a great admirer of our ancient constitution; and under this pretence there are numbers, who every day endeavour to sow discontents among the people, by persuading them that the constitution is in danger, and that they are unnecessarily loaded with many and heavy taxes. These men know that discontent and disaffection are like wit and madness, separated by thin partitions; and therefore they hope, if they can once render the people thoroughly discontented, it will be easy for them to render them disaffected. These are the men whom we have most reason to fear. They are, I am afraid, more numerous than most gentlemen imagine; and I wish I could not say, they have been lately joined, and very much assisted by some gentlemen, who, I am convinced, have always been, and still are, very sincere and true friends to our present happy establishment."

Sir John Hynde Cotton, a concealed Jacobite,* stung by this reproach, thus retorted upon the whigs.

"I do own it gives me a good deal of surprise to hear gentlemen who act upon revolution principles, talk in a manner so utterly at variance with the language of whigs in former times. Sir, I know not what whigs the honourable gentlemen has been acquainted with; but I have had the honour and happiness to be intimate with many gentlemen of that denomination. I have likewise, sir, read the writings of many authors who have espoused those principles; I have sat in this house during the most material debates that have happened between them and the tories; and I can declare from my own experience, that I never knew one who acted on true whig principles, vote for a standing army in time of peace. What the principles of the whigs in former days were, I can only learn from reading or information. But I have heard of whigs who were against all unlimited votes of credit. I have heard of whigs who looked upon corruption to be the greatest curse that could befall any nation. I have heard of whigs who esteemed the liberty of the press to be the most valuable privilege of a free people, and triennial parliaments to be the greatest bulwark of their liberties; and I have heard of a whig administration who have resented injuries done to the trade of the nation, and have revenged insults offered to the British flag. These, sir, are the principles, if I am rightly informed, that once characterised the true whigs. Let gentlemen apply these characters to their present conduct; and then, laying their hands upon their hearts, let them ask themselves if they are whigs."

As Walpole was extremely desirous to avoid a rupture with Spain, a

* Stuart papers, in the possession of his Majesty, to which he was graciously pleased to permit access for the purpose of enabling the author to illustrate the history of the rebellion of 1745.

Note.—The reference to the "Stuart papers," in the subsequent parts of the present work, relate exclusively to those in the immediate custody of his Majesty.

convention with that power was concluded at the Prado, on the fourteenth day of January, seventeen hundred and thirty-nine, by which it was agreed, that within six weeks from the day on which the ratifications should be exchanged, two plenipotentiaries should meet at Madrid, to confer and finally regulate the respective pretensions of both crowns, as to the trade and navigation in Europe and America, and other disputed points; and that his catholic majesty should pay a certain sum in satisfaction of the demands of British subjects upon the crown of Spain, subject, however, to deduction of demands made by the crown and subjects of Spain. At opening the session on the first of February, the king, in his speech to both houses, alluded to the convention; but he abstained from stating the nature of its provisions, farther than that the king of Spain had obliged himself to make reparation for the losses sustained by British subjects, from the depredations of Spain. When the terms of the convention became generally known, a cry of indignation was raised against the minister, who, it was alleged, had sacrificed, the honour of the country to the unjust and domineering pretensions of Spain.

Backed by the general voice of the nation, the opposition again prepared themselves to combat the ministerial phalanx. They first tried their strength in several preliminary motions for the production of certain papers connected with the disputes on the Spanish question, in which they were unsuccessful; but they made their great effort on the ninth of March, when an address approving of the convention was moved. Before the day appointed for taking the convention into consideration, petitions had been presented to the house of commons by merchants, planters, and others, trading to America, by the cities of London and Bristol, the merchants of Liverpool, and the owners of some vessels which had been seized by the Spaniards. In these petitions it was stated that Spain, by the convention, was so far from giving up the unjustifiable practice of searching British ships, trading to and from the British plantations, that she appeared to have claimed the power of doing it as a right, seeing that, although the differences arising out of it were to be referred to plenipotentiaries, Spain had not even agreed to abstain from the practice, during the time that the discussion of this affair might last. These petitions, which prayed that the petitioners might be heard against that part of the convention which seemed to recognise the right of search on the part of Spain, were referred to the committee appointed to consider the convention; but a petition from the trustees for establishing the colony of Georgia, praying to be heard by counsel, against a clause in the convention, for regulating the limits of Carolina and Florida, experienced a different fate, having been rejected on a division.

The day for considering the convention having arrived, so desirous were the commons to be at their posts, that by eight o'clock in the morning four hundred members had taken their seats. The address was

moved by Mr H. Walpole, who lauded the convention, urged the inducements which Great Britain had to cultivate peace, the dangers of war, and the designs of the pretender. Mr Lyttelton, in an animated speech, endeavoured to turn the argument thus addressed to the fears of the audience to his own advantage. "After he (Walpole) had used many arguments to persuade us to peace, to any peace, good or bad, by pointing out the dangers of a war, dangers I by no means allow to be such as he represents them, he crowned all those terrors with the name of the pretender. It would be the cause of the pretender. The pretender would come. Is the honourable gentleman sensible what this language imports? The people of England complain of the greatest wrongs and indignities; they complain of the interruption, the destruction of their trade; they think the peace has left them in a worse condition than before; and in answer to all these complaints what are they told? Why, that their continuing to suffer all this is the price they must pay to keep the king and his family on the throne of these realms. If this were true it ought not to be owned; but it is far from truth; the very reverse is true. Nothing can weaken the family; nothing can shake the establishment but such measures as these, and such language as this." In vindication of the convention, the ministry maintained that Spain had granted satisfaction adequate to the injury received,—that all causes of complaint would be removed by a treaty of which the convention was merely a preliminary,—that war, which was uncertain in its events, was always expensive and injurious to a commercial country,—that in the event of a rupture, France and Spain would unite against Great Britain,—that she had no ally on whom she could depend for effectual aid; and that war would favour the designs of the disaffected to restore the exiled family. Notwithstanding the force of these arguments, the ministry made a narrow escape, the address being carried by a majority of twenty-eight votes only in a house of four hundred and ninety-two members.

Such a result, instead of encouraging the opposition to perseverance, filled them with dismay, and they resolved to discontinue their attendance in parliament. "The secession," as this extraordinary step was termed, was immediately after the division notified to the house by Sir William Wyndham in a speech of great pathos and solemnity. After a pathetic remonstrance against the resolutions to which the house had come, he called the majority a faction which had arraigned itself against the liberties of the nation, and thus concluded his harangue. "I here, Sir, bid a final adieu to this house. Perhaps when another parliament shall succeed I may be again at liberty to serve my country in the same capacity; I therefore appeal, Sir, to a future, free, uninfluenced house of commons. In the meantime, I shall conclude with doing that duty to my country I am still at liberty to perform, which is, to pray for its preservation. May therefore that Power which has so often and so visibly interposed in behalf of the rights and liberties of this nation, con-

tinue its care over us at this worst and most dangerous juncture, when the insolence of enemies without, and the influence of corruption within, threaten the ruin of her constitution!" Sir Robert Walpole, in a reply, which has been characterized by Lord Chatham as one of the finest he ever heard,* poured out a torrent of personal abuse upon Wyndham, unparalleled in the history of parliamentary vituperation. He denounced Sir William as the head of those traitors who for twenty-five years had conspired to destroy their country and the royal family, in order to restore a popish pretender,—and who, in return for the clemency he had experienced at the hands of the government after his apprehension, had ungratefully abused that clemency by heading a party whose object was to overthrow all law.

As it was easy to perceive that a rupture with Spain was almost inevitable, and as such an event would resuscitate the hopes and favour the designs of the Chevalier de St George and his abettors, it became the duty of the government to provide against any new attempts to stir up a civil war in the kingdom. The Highlands of Scotland were the quarter whence the greatest danger was to be apprehended, not more on account of the nature of the country, which was favourable to a prolonged warfare, than of the attachment of the greater number of the chiefs to the house of Stuart. It was obvious, that in proportion as that attachment was weakened, the interests of the house of Hanover were strengthened; yet strange to say, the government had devised no plan for detaching the Highland chiefs and their dependants from the fortunes of the exiled family. It was reserved for Lord-president Forbes, a man not less distinguished for patriotism than political wisdom, to discover a plan for securing the allegiance of the clans by engaging them in the service of the government, a scheme which, if acted upon, would have saved the kingdom from the horrors of civil war, and preserved many worthy families from ruin.

Before communicating his plan to the government, Lord-president Forbes resolved to consult his friend Lord Milton, then lord-justice-clerk, upon the subject. One morning in the end of autumn seventeen hundred and thirty-eight, he visited Lord Milton at his house at Brunstane before breakfast. Surprised at receiving such an early call, Milton asked him what was the matter. "A matter," replied the president, "which I hope you will think of some importance. You know very well that I am, like you, a whig; but I am also the neighbour and friend of the Highlanders, and intimately acquainted with most of their chiefs. For some time I have been revolving in my mind different schemes for reconciling the Highlanders to government; now I think the time is come to bring forward a scheme which, in my opinion, will certainly have that effect. A war with Spain seems near at hand, which, it is probable, will soon be followed by a war with France, and there will be occasion for more troops than

* Walpoliana.

the present standing army. In that event, I propose that government should raise four or five regiments of Highlanders, appointing an English or Scottish officer of undoubted loyalty to be colonel of each regiment; and naming the lieutenant-colonels, majors, captains, and subalterns, from this list in my hand, which comprehends all the chiefs and chieftains of the disaffected clans, who are the very persons whom France and Spain will call upon, in case of a war, to take arms for the pretender. If government pre-engages the Highlanders in the manner I propose, they will not only serve well against the enemy abroad, but will be hostages for the good behaviour of their relations at home; and I am persuaded that it will be absolutely impossible to raise a rebellion in the Highlands. I have come *here* to show you this plan, and to entreat, if you approve it, that you will recommend it to your friend Lord Ilay,* who, I am told, is to be here to-day or to-morrow on his way to London." "I will most certainly," said Milton, "show the plan to Lord Ilay; but I need not recommend it to him, for, if I am not mistaken, it will recommend itself."

The earl of Ilay having arrived at Brunstane next day, Lord Milton showed him the president's plan, with which he expressed himself very well pleased. The earl carried it to London with him, and presented it to Sir Robert Walpole, who, on reading the preamble, at once declared that it was the most sensible scheme he had ever seen, and stated his surprise that nobody had thought of it before. Walpole then laid the plan before a meeting of the cabinet summoned for the purpose of considering it, at which he expressed his approbation of it in the strongest terms, and recommended it as a measure which ought to be carried into immediate execution, as a war with Spain might soon take place. Singularly enough, every member of the cabinet, with the exception of Sir Robert himself, declared against the measure. They assured him, notwithstanding his strong recommendations of it, that for his own sake they could not agree to it, because if government should adopt the plan of the *Scots* judge, the patriots (as the opposition was called,) would denounce Sir Robert as a person who intended to subvert the constitution, by raising an army of Highlanders to join the standing army and enslave the people of England. The plan was, therefore, abandoned, and about a year after its rejection Great Britain declared war against Spain.†

Notwithstanding the convention, the differences between Great Britain and Spain remained unadjusted, and in the following year, as before stated, war was openly declared against Spain. The opposition, therefore, returned to their seats, a measure which they justified by the declaration of war against Spain; every assertion against the encroachments of Spain contained in the declaration being, as they alleged,

* Archibald, earl of Ilay, the friend of Sir Robert Walpole. He succeeded his brother, John, duke of Argyle, in the year 1743.

† Home's History of the Rebellion of 1745, chap. i.

almost similar in expression to those used by the opposition against the convention.

As soon as the Chevalier de St George received intelligence of the war with Spain, he despatched Lord Marischal to Madrid to induce the court of Spain to adopt measures for his restoration. But however willing Spain might be to assist him, he was desirous that no attempt should be made without the concurrence of France.* About the same time, that is, in the beginning of the year seventeen hundred and forty, some of the more zealous and leading Jacobites, in anticipation of a war with France, held a meeting at Edinburgh, and formed themselves into an association, by which they engaged themselves to take arms and venture their lives and fortunes to restore the family of Stuart, provided the king of France would send over a body of troops to their assistance. By a singular coincidence, this association, like that which brought over King William to England, consisted of seven persons, viz. Lord Lovat, James Drummond, commonly called duke of Perth, the earl of Traquair, Sir James Campbell of Auchinbreck, Cameron of Lochiel, John Stuart, brother to Lord Traquair, and Lord John Drummond, uncle to the duke of Perth.† The conspirators despatched Drummond of Bochaldu, or Balhady, (nephew to Lochiel,) to Rome with the bond of association, and a list of those chiefs and chieftains who were considered by the associates to be favourable to the cause. Drummond was instructed to deliver these papers into the hands of the Chevalier de St George, and to entreat him to procure assistance from France in furtherance of their design. The project was well received by James, who, after perusing the papers, forwarded them immediately by the same messenger to Cardinal Fleury at Paris, with a request that the court of France would grant the required assistance. But the cardinal, with that caution which distinguished him, would come under no engagement, but contented himself at first by a general assurance of conditional support.

The negotiation was, however, persevered in, but the death of the Emperor Charles the Sixth, which happened on the twentieth of October, seventeen hundred and forty, drew off the cardinal's attention to matters which appeared to him of greater importance. The emperor was succeeded in his hereditary dominions by his eldest daughter, Maria Theresa, married to the grand-duke of Tuscany, formerly duke of Lorraine. Though this princess succeeded under the title of the pragmatic sanction, which had been guaranteed by England, France, Spain,

* Letters to the duke of Ormond and Lord Marischal, 27th January, 1740, the original copies of which are among the Stuart Papers in his Majesty's possession. Alluding to his expectations of assistance from France, the Chevalier, in a letter (of which a copy is also in the same collection,) written to Marischal on 11th January, 1740, while the latter was on his way to Madrid, says, "I am betwixt hopes and fears, tho I think there is more room for the first than the last, as you will have perceived by what Lord Sempil (so an active agent of James was called,) has I suppose writ to you. I conclude I shall sometime next month see clearer into these great affairs."

† Trial of Lord Lovat, p. 21.

Prussia, Russia, Holland, and the whole of the Germanic body, with the exception of the elector-palatine, and the electors of Bavaria and Saxony, a powerful confederacy was formed against her by almost all these powers, to strip her of her dominions. Maria Theresa at first looked to France for support; and, in expectation of receiving it, declined a proposal made by Great Britain and Holland to form a grand confederacy against the house of Bourbon;* but France, regardless of her engagements, joined the confederacy with the view of crushing the house of Austria. The king of Prussia modestly demanded from Maria Theresa, the whole of Silesia; and, upon being refused, entered that province about the end of December at the head of an army. He entered Breslau, the capital, and took all the fortresses except Brieg and Neiss. In April, seventeen hundred and forty-one, he defeated the Austrians at Molwitz, and thus became master of the whole of Silesia.

Alarmed at the formidable confederacy formed against her, the queen of Hungary applied to Great Britain for succour; but Sir Robert Walpole evaded the demand, and recommended an immediate peace with Prussia. The parliament, as well as the nation, however, had different views; and as the minister saw that he would be compelled to fulfil his engagements to the house of Austria, parliament was called upon to support the queen of Hungary, and maintain the liberties of Europe. The commons cheerfully voted a sum of £300,000 to enable George the Second to fulfil his engagements, which sum was remitted to the queen of Hungary, and the contingent of twelve thousand Danish and Hessian troops, which Great Britain had engaged to furnish, was got in readiness. Meanwhile the court of France concluded an offensive alliance with the elector of Bavaria, by which she engaged to send forty thousand men to join the elector, and another army of equal force to keep the elector of Hanover and the United Provinces in check.† A treaty was entered into about the same time between Prussia and France. This was again followed by a treaty to a similar effect between the king of Prussia and the elector of Bavaria, by which Silesia was guaranteed to Prussia; Upper Austria, the Tyrol, Brisgau, and Bohemia to Bavaria. By offering Moravia to the elector of Saxony, he was induced to enter into the alliance, and signed a treaty with France. By enriching Prussia, Saxony, and Bavaria, (the three rival powers which disputed the dominion of Germany with the house of Austria,) with her spoils, France expected to raise them to an equality with Austria, and prevent her from ever again asserting the dominion of the empire. Spain also prepared to attack the Austrian possessions in Italy, and the king of Sardinia armed for the same purpose.

To counteract the efforts of the elector of Hanover in favour of Maria Theresa, a French army under Marshal Maillebois, marched into Westphalia, and threatened the electorate. George the Second, with-

* Coxe's House of Austria.

† Flassan.

out the knowledge of his minister, meanly proposed a neutrality for his German dominions, and a treaty was accordingly signed by the French and Hanoverian ministers; but Lord Harrington, the British minister, refused to put his name to a document which parliament, he was aware, would not have sanctioned.* While the army under Marshal Maillebois kept Hanover in check, another French army joined the elector of Bavaria, whom the French court had engaged to raise to the imperial dignity. The elector marched towards Vienna, and his cavalry arrived within a few miles of the capital; but Fleury, jealous of the elector of Saxony, induced the elector, by means of his agents, to draw off his army towards Bohemia, lest the Saxons should make themselves masters thereof. Frederick of Prussia had indeed strongly urged the elector to advance, and observed that “the Romans could be conquered nowhere but at Rome;” but the elector, more disposed to follow the advice of the French minister, entered Bohemia and laid siege to Prague,—a movement which preserved the capital and saved the house of Austria from ruin.

While thus threatened with destruction by the combined attacks of France, Spain, Prussia, Saxony, Poland, and Bavaria, Maria Theresa displayed a firmness of soul worthy of her race and the justice of her cause. Refusing to purchase peace at the expense of any portion of her hereditary dominions, she resolved to appeal to the sympathy and affection of her Hungarian subjects against the perfidy of her assailants. She was crowned at Presburg in the month of June, seventeen hundred and forty-one, amid the acclamations of a loyal and devoted people; and, in September following, she met the assembled diet in the same place. Her appearance on this occasion harmonized with the object in view. Clad in deep mourning, the crown of St Stephen on her head, and a cimeter at her side, she entered the hall and ascended the tribune. Every eye was fixed upon her, and every heart beat with emotions of loyalty and respect. Her youth,—her beauty,—her graceful charms,—the dignity of her deportment,—her unbending integrity in defending the lawful possessions of her house,—the appeal which, as the heiress of a long line of monarchs, she was about to make for protection against her enemies,—all tended to rouse the national feeling in her favour.

After an explanation from the chancellor of the cause for which the diet had been assembled, Maria Theresa addressed the deputies in a Latin speech:—“The afflicted state of our affairs moves us to inform our faithful subjects of Hungary of the invasion of Austria, and the peril of this kingdom. It will be for you to consider of the remedy. This king-

* The Chevalier de St George, in a letter to the duke of Ormond, 1st November, 1740, thus alludes to the treaty:—“It will, to be sure, exasperate all our countrymen much against the elector, and may have, I think, in general, very good consequences for my interest. By it the Cardinal, (Fleury,) becomes master of affairs in Germany, and when he has settled matters there, I think it is reasonable to hope that he will turn his thoughts seriously to what relates to my interest.”—*Stuart Papers*.

dom,—our person,—our children are at stake. Abandoned by all, we have no resource but the fidelity of the states of Hungary, and the ancient valour of the Hungarian people. We exhort the states and orders to consult on the imminent danger of our person, our children, our crown, and kingdom: and to give instant effect to their resolves. For our parts, every order and class in the kingdom may be assured that the pristine happiness of the country, and glory of the Hungarian name, shall be the object of our dearest care and affection.” No sooner had the queen finished her speech, than the deputies, with spontaneous accord, drew their swords almost from the scabbard, and driving them back to the hilt, exclaimed, “*Moriamur pro rege nostro, Maria Theresam!*”—We will die for our king, Maria Theresa! The queen, unable to repress her emotions, burst into tears of joy and gratitude. The states instantly voted large supplies of money and troops, and in a few weeks a large army was collected and formed.

In the month of November the duke of Lorraine entered Bohemia at the head of sixty thousand men, to relieve Prague; but it surrendered to the French and Bavarian troops before he could reach it. He thereupon divided his troops into three divisions; the command of one was given to Khevenhuller, the ablest of the Austrian commanders. To keep up his communication with his own country, the elector of Bavaria had posted twenty thousand men in different places. These posts were attacked separately, and with the most complete success, by Khevenhuller, who entered Bavaria in the month of December, preceded by large bodies of irregular cavalry, known by the name of Croats, Pandours, and Tolfaches, who carried havoc wherever they went.

While the flames of war were thus spreading over Europe, the situation of the British ministry was every day becoming more critical from the clamours of the tories and the discontented whigs. Walpole had triumphed in both houses on motions for an address to the king to dismiss him from his presence and councils; but his triumph was short, and the approach of an election redoubled the efforts of his enemies. Though the Jacobites required no incentive to induce them to assist in displacing a minister who had been the chief obstacle to the restoration of the exiled family; yet to make perfectly sure of their aid, Lord Chesterfield went to France, and by means of the duke of Ormond, obtained, it is said, a circular letter from the Chevalier de St George to his friends, urging them to do every thing in their power to ruin Walpole.* To encourage the popular clamour against the minister, reports, the most absurd and incredible respecting him, were circulated among the people and

* Colonel O'Bryan, who acted several years as the Chevalier's *charge des affaires* at Paris, had been made to believe that Walpole was favourably inclined to James's restoration; but the Chevalier seems to have had some doubts on the subject. In a letter to O'Bryan of 13th January, 1740, he says, “*Si Walpole a veritablement mes interets en vue, il saura bien s'adresser a moy, par des voyes plus directes et plus authentiques.*”—*Stuart Papers*.

believed; and while the general discontent was at its height, the elections commenced. The contests between the two parties were extremely violent; but the country party, backed by the adherents of the prince of Wales, who had formed a party against the minister, prevailed. So powerful was the influence of the duke of Argyle, who had lately joined the opposition, that out of the forty-five members returned for Scotland, the friends of the ministry could not secure above six. The new parliament met on the fourth of December, seventeen hundred and forty-one; and Walpole, no longer able to contend with the forces arrayed against him, retired from office within a few weeks thereafter.

Encouraged by appearances, and imagining that some of the old discontented whigs who deprecated the system which had been pursued since the accession of the house of Hanover, of maintaining the foreign dominions of the sovereign at the expense, as they thought, of the honour and interests of the nation; Drummond of Bochaldy proposed to the chevalier to visit England, and make overtures in his name to the "old whigs."* This plan was highly approved of by James, who wrote him a letter in his own hand, which was intended to be exhibited to such persons as might seem inclined to favour his restoration. This letter was inclosed in a private letter containing instructions† for the regulation of his conduct in the proposed negotiation, which, it was intended should be kept an entire secret from the Jacobites, both in England and Scotland. Erskine of Grange, who enjoyed the confidence of some of the discontented whigs, and who privately favoured the designs of the exiled family, was pitched upon as a fit person to make advances to the old whigs.‡

In pursuance of his instructions, Drummond departed for England about the beginning of the year seventeen hundred and forty-two, but it does not appear that at this time he entered upon the subject of his mission. He came privately to Edinburgh in the month of February, same year, and there met some of the persons who had entered into the association, and several others, who, in conjunction with the original conspirators, had formed themselves into a society, denominated by them "the Concert of Gentlemen for managing the king's affairs in Scotland." To these, among whom was Murray of Broughton, Drummond represented that, on his return from Rome, he had been extremely well

* This scheme was first broached by Drummond to Sempil, another active agent of the Chevalier, and communicated by him to James, who signified his approbation of it in a letter to Sempil, dated Nov. 22, 1741. "I approve very much in general of our making application to the old whigs, and take it as a new and great mark of Balhaldy's zeal. The offer he makes of being instrumental in that measure, I perused with satisfaction. What you write on the subject, I shall consider seriously on it betwixt this and next week; I shall by next post send you a packet for Balhaldy, with all that may appear proper and necessary from me on that particular."—*Stuart Papers*.

† Vide Appendix, Nos. X. and XI.

‡ There is, among the Stuart papers, a copy of a letter from the Chevalier de St George to Mr Erskine, 13 March, 1740, thanking him for the zeal he had shown in his cause.

received by Cardinal Fleury, to whom he had delivered the papers which he had carried from Edinburgh,—that the cardinal expressed great satisfaction with the contents of these papers, had the pretender's interest so much at heart, and was so sanguine of his success, that provided he had sufficient assurances from the friends of the exiled family in England, that they would assist in the restoration of the Stuarts, he would send over an army of from thirteen to fifteen thousand men, the number required; a division of which, consisting of fifteen hundred men, was to be landed on the east coast of Scotland, at or near Inverness; another of a similar amount in the west Highlands of Scotland; and the main body, which was to consist of ten or twelve thousand men, was to be landed as near London as possible. He added, that, provided assistance could be obtained in England, the projected invasion might be put in execution the following autumn. Before leaving Edinburgh Drummond had an interview with Cameron of Lochiel, who came to town at his desire, and to whom he communicated the result of his mission to Rome and Paris.*

After a short stay at Edinburgh, Drummond returned to Paris, where, according to his own account, as communicated in letters to Lord Traquair and Lochiel, he had an audience of the cardinal, to whom he represented matters in such a favourable light that he promised to carry his design of invasion into effect in a very short time. The French minister, however, though he really seems to have seriously contemplated such a step, was not yet in a condition to come to an open rupture with England; and to postpone the enterprise, he proposed to Drummond that an application should be made to Sweden for a body of troops to invade Scotland, and that a person from Scotland, along with another person from France whom the cardinal would appoint, should be sent thither to urge the application at the Swedish court. The cardinal gave as his reason for thus deviating from his original plan, that the Swedes being protestants, would be more agreeable to the people of Scotland, than French or Irish troops. In accordance with this proposal, Lord Traquair suggested that Murray of Broughton should be sent to Sweden on the proposed mission, but he declined.†

From the turn which the affair of the invasion had now taken, and the time when it was expected to take place being allowed to elapse without any preparations on the part of France, a suspicion began to be entertained by the members of the Concert, that the cardinal never had any intention to invade Scotland, and that the whole was a scheme of Drummond's to keep alive the spirit of party in Scotland, and to make himself pass for useful in the eyes of his employers. To ascertain the real state of the case, Murray of Broughton, at the suggestion of Lord Traquair, was sent to Paris in the month of January, seventeen hundred and forty-three. He took London on his way, but before he reached the capital, he heard of the death of Cardinal Fleury. After stay-

* Lord Lovat's Trial, p. 75.

† Ibid. p. 76.

ing a short time in London, Murray went privately to Paris, where he met Drummond and Sempil, who managed the Chevalier's affairs in France. They stated to him, that in all probability the scheme of invasion would have been carried into effect, had not the army of Marshal Maillebois been sent towards Hanover instead of the coast of Flanders, as at first intended; and that from the interest taken by the cardinal in the affairs of the Stuarts, he had put all the papers relating to them into the hands of Monsieur Amelot, the secretary for foreign affairs.*

At an audience which Murray afterwards had with Monsieur Amelot at Versailles, the foreign secretary told him that, on being made acquainted by Sempil with the cause of Murray's journey, he had informed the king of France of it, and that his majesty had authorized him to assure Mr Murray that he had the interest of the Stuart family as much at heart as any of the gentlemen who had signed the memorial of association, and that as soon as he had an opportunity he would put the scheme into execution.†

Shortly after this interview, Murray left Paris for London, accompanied by Drummond, who came over to obtain the assurances required by the French court from the English Tories and Jacobites. After remaining a few days in London, Murray returned to Edinburgh, to report to his friends the result of his mission. Drummond stopt at London, where he met Mr Erskine of Grange,‡ but although overtures were then, it is believed, made to Lord Barrymore, Sir John Hynde Cotton, and Sir Watkin Williams Wynne, they declined to give any assurance or promise of support in writing. By desire of Drummond, Lord Traquair met him in London shortly after his arrival to assist him in his negotiations.§

At first view it may appear singular, and the circumstance must convey a very sorry idea of the councils of the Chevalier de St George, that a person of so little weight and influence as Drummond, who was utterly unknown to the English tories and Jacobites, should have been sent on such an important mission; but when it is considered that some of the leading Jacobites were proscribed and in exile, and that those at home were strictly watched by the government, and were therefore afraid to commit themselves by any overt act, it cannot excite surprise that the Chevalier availed himself of the services of one whom he considered "an honest and sensible man."|| Drummond was, however,

* Lord Lovat's Trial, p. 76. † Ibid.

‡ The Chevalier alludes to this meeting in a letter to Sempil, 9th April, 1743; and in another of 16th May following, he mentions a long paper which Mr Erskine had sent him on the state of affairs.—*Stuart Papers*.

§ Letter from the Chevalier to Sempil, 24th May, 1743.—*Stuart Papers*.

|| Letter to Sempil, 16th March, 1740.—*Stuart Papers*. Drummond was not the only person employed by the Chevalier about this time to visit his friends in England. A Colonel Bret, and afterwards a Colonel Cecil, with both of whom James corresponded, made frequent journeys to England. The dutches of Buckingham made many unsolicited trips to Paris to hasten Cardinal Fleury's motions, but James was by no means

considered, even by his original employers, as an unfit person for executing the trust reposed in him, and Lord John Drummond, one of the seven who had signed the association, was quite indignant when he found him engaged in the mission to England.* Nor was Sempil, another agent, between whom and Drummond a close intimacy subsisted, more acceptable to the Scottish Jacobites, some of whom he offended by his forwardness.†

During the earlier part of the year seventeen hundred and forty-three, the French ministry were too much occupied with the war in Germany to pay much attention to the affairs of the Stuarts; but towards the close of that year they began to meditate upon an invasion of Great Britain. The parliament met in the beginning of December, when a motion was made in the house of peers by the earl of Sandwich ‡ for an address to the crown to discontinue the Hanoverian troops in British pay, in order to remove the national discontent, which was represented to be so violent, that nothing but their dismissal could appease it. The motion was negatived, but renewed in another shape on the army estimates being brought forward, when it shared the same fate. The attention of the French ministry being drawn to these and similar discussions, and to the general dissatisfaction which seemed to pervade the people of Great Britain, by the agents and partizans of the exiled family, backed by the influence of Cardinal Tencin, entered upon the project of an invasion in good earnest. The cardinal, who now had great influence in the councils of France, had, while a resident at Rome, been particularly noticed by the Chevalier de St George, by whose influence he had been raised to the cardinalate, and he was moved as much from gratitude to his patron as from ambition to bring about the restoration of the Stuarts.§ The court of Versailles, indeed, required little inducement to engage in an enterprise which, whether it succeeded or not, would at all events operate as a diversion in favour of France in her contest with the house of Austria, of which Great Britain was the chief support; but it is not

satisfied with her officiousness. In writing to her on 20th July, 1741, he cautions her as follows:—"I must seriously recommend to you not to importune the old gentleman too much. When you have given him what lights and information have come to your knowledge, all the good is done, for in the present situation one would think he should want no spur to befriend us, and in all events he will go on in his own way, while teasing him can serve for nothing but to make him peevish and out of humour." The dutchess must have been possessed of some important papers, as James, in a letter to Sempil, (2d May, 1743.) written shortly after her death, expresses his concern lest her papers should fall into the hands of the government.—*Stuart Papers*.

* Letter from Lord John to Secretary Edgar among the Stuart Papers. Appendix, No. XV.

† Letter from Lord Marischal to Lord John Drummond. Appendix, No. XVII.

‡ Lady Sandwich was a zealous Jacobite, and declared, in a letter to the Chevalier de St George, that she would not live in England till he was restored. Vide her letter and the Chevalier's answer, Appendix, Nos. XVIII. and XIX.

§ The cardinal dined with James every Wednesday. Letter from the Chevalier to "Lord Inverness," 13th January, 1740.—*Stuart Papers*.

improbable that they at this time contemplated a more serious attempt. In intimating, however, his resolution to undertake the expedition, the king of France notified to the Chevalier de St George that it was to be kept a profound secret, and that neither the duke of Ormond nor Lord Marischal should be let into the secret till the enterprise was ready to be put into execution.*

The command of the troops designed for this expedition, amounting to fifteen thousand men, was given to Marshal Saxe, an able commander, who had distinguished himself in several campaigns; and the naval part, consisting of thirteen ships of the line, besides transports, collected at Dunkirk, Calais, and Boulogne, was intrusted to Monsieur de Roquefeuille, an officer of considerable experience and capacity. This force was destined for the coast of Kent, and a smaller force was to be landed in Scotland under the command of Lord Marischal.†

While the preparations for the expedition were going on, Cardinal Tencin kept up an active correspondence with the Chevalier de St George. As James felt rather disinclined to accompany the expedition himself, he proposed that his eldest son, Charles, a youth of great promise, then in his twenty-third year, should go in his stead; but as it was doubtful whether the prince would arrive in time to join the expedition, the Chevalier sent an express to the duke of Ormond requesting him to accompany the expedition, and to act as regent, by virtue of a commission of regency formerly granted him, until the prince should arrive. On arriving in England, the duke was directed to advise with the principal friends of the family, among whom he particularly enumerated the duke of Beaufort, the earls of Barrymore, Westmoreland, and Orkney, Lord Cobham, and Sirs Watkin Williams Wynne, John Hynde Cotton, and Robert Abdy.‡ Having obtained the consent of the French court to this arrangement, the cardinal, upon the completion of the preparations for the expedition, despatched a messenger to Rome to request the attendance of the young prince at Paris. Accordingly, on the morning of the ninth of January seventeen hundred and forty-four, Prince Charles, accompanied by his brother Henry and two or three attendants, left Rome before break of day, but they had not proceeded far when they parted, the prince on his route to France and the duke to Cisterna.§ The former was disguised as a Spanish courier, and took only one servant along with him on his journey. To account for the departure of the two brothers, it was given out at Rome that they had

* See Appendix, No. XXIII.

† Ibid.

‡ See Appendix, No. XX. Lord Marischal, in a letter to the Chevalier de St George, 5th September, 1744, insinuates, that there existed a design on the part of the French ministry, or of the Chevalier's agents at Paris, to exclude both the duke of Ormond and himself from any share in the expedition. See Appendix, No. XXXIV.

§ "My children," says James in a letter to Sempil, 9th January, 1740, "parted both this morning from hence before day, the duke for Cisterna and the prince for his long journey. We have been at so much pains and contrivance to cover it, that I hope the secret will be kept for some days, perhaps for several."—*Stuart Papers*.

gone to a boar hunt, and so well was the secret of the prince's real destination kept, that nearly a fortnight elapsed before it was discovered.*

Provided with passports furnished by Cardinal Aquaviva, the prince travelled through Tuscany and arrived at Genoa. From Genoa he proceeded to Savona, where he embarked in a felucca, and passing by Monaco arrived at Antibes. From the latter place he proceeded to Paris, where he met Marshal Saxe and other officers belonging to the expedition, and after a private audience of the French king, he set out incognito for the coast of Picardy. The route by Genoa and Antibes was selected as the safest, and, from the season of the year, the most expeditious; but so unfavourable was the weather, that the prince had to stop some days at different places, and when he reached Antibes he was recognised, and information of his arrival there and of his departure for Paris was sent to the British government by persons in its interest. Hitherto the British ministry do not appear to have had any suspicion that the armaments at Brest, Boulogne, and other French ports, were destined for the shores of Britain, but the appearance of the eldest son of the Chevalier de St George in France opened their eyes to the dangers which now menaced them. At this time the military force in England did not exceed six thousand men, so that if the threatened invasion had taken place, a revolution would very probably have followed.†

Taken thus by surprise, the duke of Newcastle, as the organ of the British ministry, directed Mr Thomson, the English resident at the court of France, by a letter dated the third day of February, seventeen hundred and forty-four, to make a remonstrance to the French ministry for having violated the treaties by which the family of Stuart was excluded from the territories of France, and to require that the prince should be obliged forthwith to quit that kingdom. No direct answer was given to this remonstrance and requisition, nor would his most christian majesty explain what his intentions were until the king of England should give satisfaction respecting the repeated complaints which had been made to him touching the infraction of those very treaties which had been so often violated by his orders.

* Alluding to the discovery, James says, (letter to Sempil, 23d January, 1740,) that it made "a great noise, as you may believe, here," viz. at Rome.—*Stuart Papers*.

† About this time, if we may believe the accounts of the Stuart party, the spirit of Jacobitism was widely diffused in Scotland. "The violentest whigs," says Mr John Stuart in a letter to Secretary Edgar from Boulogne, in February, 1741, "are become the most zealous Jacobites. My friend says that the last night of the year with us (that is to say, the prince's birth-night,) was celebrated there (in Scotland) as publicly as we could do it here,—that he was himself in a numerous company of people of fashion, amongst whom were several officers of the army,—that the health of the day, the merry meeting, and a whole train of such, were drunk publicly,—that about the third hour, when the third bottle had banished all reserve, servants were turned out and the doors lockt, one of the company made a speech, and filled a bumper to the restoration, and damnation to every one that would not help: the whole stood to their feet, drunk the (some words are here torn away in the original,) and their hands to their swords: the officers pulled the cockades out of their hats, trampled them under feet, and then tossed them into the fire: then called for music and serenaded the ladies with loyal tunes, songs," &c.—*Stuart Papers*.

Meanwhile, the French fleet, consisting of fifteen ships of the line and five frigates, under M. de Roquefeuille, sailed from Brest, and for several days displayed itself in the channel. Knowing the object for which these ships had put to sea, the government was greatly alarmed, and not without cause; for, besides the paucity of troops in the island, they had only six ships of the line at home ready for sea, the grand fleet being then in the Mediterranean. The activity and preparations of the government corresponded with the magnitude of the danger with which it was threatened. Orders were instantly sent to fit out and man all the ships of war in the different ports of the channel. These orders were so promptly obeyed, that in a few days an English fleet of three ships of 100 guns, four of 90, six of 70, and six of 50, was collected at Spithead under the command of Sir John Norris.* Several regiments were immediately marched to the southern coast of England; all governors and commanders were ordered to repair forthwith to their respective posts; the forts at the mouth of the Thames and Medway were put in a posture of defence; and the militia of Kent were directed to assemble to defend the coast in case of an invasion. On the fifteenth day of February, the arrival of Prince Charles in France, the preparations along the French coast, and the appearance of the French fleet in the English channel, were announced to parliament in a message from the king. Both houses joined in an address, in which they declared their indignation at the design formed in favour of "a popish pretender," and assured his majesty they would take measures to frustrate so desperate and insolent an attempt. The city of London, the universities of Oxford and Cambridge,† the principal towns in Great Britain, almost all the corporations and communities of the kingdom, the clergy of the establishment, the dissenting ministers, and the quakers, or Society of Friends, presented similar addresses. A demand was made from the States-general of the six thousand auxiliaries which by treaty they had engaged to furnish on such occasions; and this force was immediately granted. Forgetful of the wrongs which he had suffered at the hands of the government, the earl of Stair tendered his services, and was re-appointed commander-in-chief of the forces in Great Britain. Several noblemen of the first rank followed his example, among whom was the duke of Montague, who was permitted to raise a regiment of horse. Orders were sent to bring over the six thousand British troops from Flanders; and both houses of parliament, in a second address, exhorted the king to augment his forces by sea and land, in such manner as he should think necessary at this dangerous juncture of affairs. The habeas corpus act was suspended for six months; several suspected per-

* *Memoirs of Europe*, vol. ii. p. 197.

† The Chevalier de St George drew up an address to both universities. It bears the same date (23d December, 1743,) as the two declarations published in 1745. This address was not published. Vide a copy from the original, in the possession of his Majesty, Appendix, No. XXII.

sons were taken into custody; the usual proclamation was issued for putting the laws in execution against the unfortunate catholics and non-jurors, who were ordered to retire ten miles from London; and every other precaution, deemed necessary for the preservation of the public tranquillity, was adopted.*

Meanwhile the preparations for invasion were proceeding rapidly at Boulogne and Dunkirk, under the eye of Prince Charles. Roquefeuille had in his excursion in the channel come in sight of Spithead; and, as he could perceive no ships there, he imagined that the English ships had retired within their harbours. Judging the opportunity favourable, he detached M. de Barriol with five ships of war to hasten the embarkation at Dunkirk, and to order the transports thereupon to put to sea. Roquefeuille then sailed up the channel with the remainder of his fleet as far as Dungeness, a promontory on the coast of Kent, off which he anchored to await the arrival of the transports. Having received intelligence of Roquefeuille's arrival from an English frigate which came into the Downs, Sir John Norris left Spithead with the British fleet, and doubling the South Foreland from the Downs, on the twenty-third of February discovered the French fleet at anchor. Though the wind was against him, Sir John endeavoured, by availing himself of the tide, to come up and engage the French squadron; but, the tide failing, he was obliged to anchor when about two leagues from the enemy. He intended to attack them next morning, but M. de Roquefeuille, not judging it advisable to risk an engagement, weighed anchor after sunset, and favoured by a hard gale of wind from the north-east which blew during the night, ran down the channel and got into Brest harbour. So violent was the gale, that all the English fleet (two ships only excepted,) parted with their cables and were driven out to sea, and before it could have returned to its station, the transports, under convoy of the five ships of war despatched by Roquefeuille, might have disembarked the army under Marshal Saxe had the storm not reached the French coast; but the tempest, which merely forced the English ships to quit their moorings, was destructive to the expedition, and utterly disconcerted the design of invading England.

On the very day on which the two fleets discovered each other, Marshal Saxe, accompanied by Charles Edward, arrived at Dunkirk, and proceeded to get his troops embarked as fast as possible. Seven thousand men were actually shipped, and proceeded to sea that day with a fair wind, but in the evening the wind changed to the east and blew a hurricane. The embarkation ceased, several of the transports which had put to sea were wrecked, many soldiers and seamen perished, and a considerable quantity of warlike stores was lost. The remainder of the transports were damaged to such an extent that they could not be speedily repaired.

* Smollett's History of England, vol. iii. book ii. chap. 5.

Such was the result of an expedition planned with great judgment and conducted with such secrecy as to have escaped the vigilance of the government till on the very eve of its being carried into execution. After the discomfiture it had met with from the elements, and the formidable attitude which England, aroused to a sense of the imminent danger she was in, had now assumed, the French court must have instantly abandoned, as it is believed it did abandon, any idea of renewing the enterprise; but Charles Edward, sanguine of success, and in no shape discouraged by the catastrophe which had happened, daily importuned Marshal Saxe to re-embark his troops and proceed to England; but the marshal excused himself, by urging the necessity of fresh instructions from court and the previous repair of the damaged transports.* The French ministry, however, finally resolved to postpone the expedition.

Although war may be said to have virtually commenced between Great Britain and France by the battle of Dettingen, which was fought between the allies and the French in the month of June, seventeen hundred and forty-three, no formal declaration of war was issued by either power till the month of March following, after the expedition against England had been given up. Immediately after that event, the English resident at the court of France was informed that a declaration of war must ensue, which was accordingly issued on the twentieth of March. This was followed by a counter declaration against France, published at London on the thirty-first of the same month.

After the failure and abandonment of the enterprise, Prince Charles retired to Gravelines, where he lived several months in private under the assumed name of the Chevalier Douglas. Ever since his arrival in France he had been forced by the French court to preserve an incognito, which, though highly approved of by Drummond and Sempil, his father's agents, was productive of great uneasiness to the Chevalier de St George, who could not understand the reason for affecting to conceal a fact which was notorious to all the world.†

* The Marshal, in answer to a querulous note sent by the prince on 11th March, says in his answer on the 13th, "Vous ne pouvez, Monseigneur, accuser que les vents et la fortune des contretemps qui nous arrivent." But he promises after the ships were refitted to proceed with the expedition.—*Stuart Papers*. The letters of Saxe among the Stuart archives fully confirm the opinion of his illiteracy.

† James, however, at first approved of the incognito. Writing to Sempil, on 10th March, 1744, he observes, "The prince will have been tired with his confinement; but, as matters stand, the French court was much in the right to keep him private, tho' that will not, it is true, hinder the elector of Hanover from taking the alarm, and his measures against the invasion." His views were different when writing Drummond on 12th June. After complaining of the disagreeable way in which the prince had been employed on his first arrival at Gravelines, (of which no particulars are given,) he continues, "I shall not be easy till I know the prince is out of his strange and long confinement and incognito, which must be so uneasy to him, and, I think, does little honor to the king of France, while it must carry something very odd with it in the eye of the public. But there were, to be sure, reasons for it which the public never knew, but I hope I shall at last."—*Stuart Papers*.

The preparations for invasion had raised, not without foundation, great hopes of a restoration in the minds of the Scottish Jacobites; but when they ascertained that the expedition was relinquished, they felt all that bitterness of disappointment which the miscarriage of any cherished scheme is sure to engender. They did not however despair of effecting their object ultimately, and, in the meantime, the leading members of the concert despatched a messenger to the prince to assure him of their attachment to his cause, and inform him of the state of the country and the dispositions of the people.* About the same time Murray of Broughton went to Paris, by advice of the earl of Traquair, to ascertain the exact situation of affairs. Here he was introduced to the prince by Drummond and Sempil. At a private interview which he had with Charles the following day, Murray stated, that from the absurd and contradictory nature of the communications made by the prince's agent at Paris, they had, as it appeared to him, a design to impose upon him with the intention of serving themselves. Charles alluded to the association which had been formed at Edinburgh, said that he did not doubt that the king of France intended to invade Britain in the ensuing spring,—that he was already preparing for it, and intended to execute it as soon as the campaign in Flanders was over; but that whether the king of France undertook the expedition or not, he himself was determined to go to Scotland. Murray, thereupon, endeavoured to show him that such an attempt would be desperate, as he could not at the utmost expect to be joined by more than four or five thousand men; but notwithstanding Murray's representations, Charles repeated his determination of going to Scotland. Murray says that he was so much against the undertaking, that he spoke to Sir Thomas Sheridan—an Irish gentleman who enjoyed the prince's confidence—to endeavour to persuade

* The arrival of this messenger, whose name was Blair, was announced by Drummond of Bochaldu to the prince's father, in a letter, dated 30th July, 1744:—"Yesterday night there arrived here, (at Dunkirk,) a gentleman from Scotland sent by the duke of Perth, Lord Traquair, and young Lochiel, to inform the prince of the state and disposition of that country, and the hazard the clans run by Lord John Drummond attempting to raise a regiment in your majesty's name, which he gloriously averred to every particular, was by his majesty's command and order; but the dangerous effect of this was prevented by the gentlemen of the concert, their prudence and influence in allowing nobody of any distinction to give either countenance or credit to it except his brother, who, it seems, they could not hinder from going such lengths as brought troops about him, and forced him to abscond, till such time as the government came to understand that the view was absolutely private in Lord John, and that the using your majesty's name was an imposition for private ends, which the clans had disappointed as much as they could. It would appear exaggeration to repeat to your majesty the accounts this gentleman brings of the real spirit and forwardness every man shewed on hearing that the prince was coming to them, and what an universal melancholy succeeded that flow of spirits on being made certain of a disappointment."—*Stuart Papers*.

It appears from the Chevalier's answer (28th August, 1744,) to the above-mentioned letter, that Lord John Drummond was authorised to raise the regiment:—"I remarked what you said last post in relation to Lord John: he had my approbation for endeavouring to raise a Scots regiment in the French service; and as I think that in general the more troops there be of my subjects in that service, the better. I must recommend to you not to take any steps to obstruct the raising of the said regiment."—*Stuart Papers*.

him against it, and that Sir Thomas told him, on his arrival in Scotland, that he had done so, but to no purpose. On returning to Scotland Murray reported to the members of the association all that had passed at the conference with the prince; and all of them, except the duke of Perth, declared themselves opposed to the prince's resolution of coming to Scotland without troops.* Murray then wrote a letter to Charles, stating the opinion of his friends, and representing the ruinous consequences which might ensue from such a rash undertaking. This letter was committed to the care of a gentleman who went to London in the month of January, in the year seventeen hundred and forty-five; but he neglected to forward it, and it was returned to Murray in the month of April. Murray made several attempts afterwards to forward the letter to France, and at last succeeded; but it never came to the hands of the prince, who departed for Scotland before the letter reached its destination.†

During the spring of seventeen hundred and forty-five, the agents of the Chevalier de St George renewed their solicitations at the French

* The prince's design was rumoured at Paris, and communicated by Sempil to the Chevalier, who, in his answer, dated 23d February, 1745, remarks as follows:—"I am noways surprised that some French people should have a notion of the prince's going to Scotland without troops, tho' nobody surely can enter into such an idea except out of ignorance, and from not knowing the true state of things. But I am always alarmed at it, because I think it impossible that the king of France should approve of such a project, and that it is well known how much I should myself be averse to it. However, it will be always well that you use your best endeavours to refute so dangerous a scheme, and that nobody can do more solidly and effectually than yourself, from the lights and knowledge you have of the affairs of Britain; and I own, till I see the contrary, I shall, as long as the war lasts, always hope that the French will take at last some generous resolution in our favor."—*Stuart Papers*.

† Such is the statement given by Secretary Murray on the trial of Lord Lovat; but Mr James Maxwell of Kirkconnel, who was an officer in the prince's army, throws the whole blame of the expedition of 1745 upon Murray. He says that while the prince, upon the failure of the expedition of 1744, was deliberating as to the course he should pursue, "John Murray of Broughton arrived from Scotland. This gentleman—whom I shall have frequently occasion to mention—had been all his life a violent Jacobite. He had been of late very busy in the king's affairs in Scotland. I don't know what commission he had from the king; but he went about and acted as the king's agent. He brought assurances from several persons of distinction in Scotland of their readiness to join the prince upon his landing; but they entreated his royal highness not to think of coming without a body of regular troops, a considerable sum of money, and a great store of ammunition and arms. Murray finding there was no appearance of obtaining these things from the court of France at present, and impatient of delay, for reasons best known to himself, advised the prince in his own name to come to Scotland at any rate; it was his opinion that the prince should come to Scotland as well provided and attended as possible; but rather come alone than delay coming,—that those who had invited the prince, and promised to join him if he came at the head of four or five thousand regular troops, would do the same if he came without any troops at all;—in fine, that he had a very strong party in Scotland, and would have a very good chance of succeeding. This was more than enough to determine the prince. The expedition was resolved upon, and Murray despatched to Scotland with such orders and instructions as were thought proper at that juncture."—*MS. in the possession of the family of Kirkconnel*.

The letter No. XXXV. of the Appendix, which appears to be the production of Murray, throws no light on this subject.

court for another expedition; but Louis and his ministers were too much occupied with preparations for the campaign in Flanders to pay much attention to such applications. They however continued to amuse the Jacobite negotiators with assurances of conditional support; but James began to perceive that little or no reliance could be placed upon such promises.* To relieve himself from the *ennui* occasioned by the failure of the expedition, and the state of seclusion in which he was kept by the French government, and to obtain some knowledge of military tactics, Charles applied for permission to make a campaign with the French army in Flanders; but although he was warmly backed in his application by his father, Louis refused to accede to his wish.† Though frustrated in his expectations of any immediate aid from France, and denied the trifling gratification of making a campaign, Charles manifested little of the restlessness and hauteur which he afterwards displayed on his return from Scotland. Though he had much reason, as he observed, “to be out of humour,” he resolved, notwithstanding, to bear with patience the disappointments which he had experienced.‡

To ease his mind from the anxieties which pressed upon it, the Duke of Fitzjames and other friends of his family, invited the prince to pass the spring at their country-seats in the neighbourhood of Paris, where, amid the society of his friends and rural recreations, he seemed, for a time, to forget the object for which he had come to France.

* Vide Extracts of Correspondence, Appendix, No. XXIII.

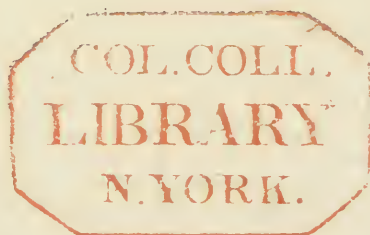
† Id. and the Chevalier's Letters, Appendix, Nos. XXVI—XXXI.

‡ Appendix, No. XXXII.

APPENDIX

TO

THE SECOND VOLUME.



APPENDIX.

No. I.

Memoir of a Plan for preserving the Peace of the Highlands : written a short time after the Revolution. (From the Original in the handwriting of Duncan Forbes, of Culloden, the President's father. Every part of this plan seems to have been followed, in every point of any consequence.)

THE strength of the kingdom of Scotland did stand anciently in the power of Superiors over ther Vassalls, and Cheeffs over their Clanes ; which power, as it was always burdensome to the King and Kingdom in tyme of peace, because thes great Superiors and Cheeffs, proud of it, acted often insolently, and would neither be commanded by King nor Law ; so was that same power of thers evin as hurtfull in tymes of War : which may appear by the conduct of the Scots affairs at Flowdon, Pinkie, Solloway Moss, and many other occasions, when competition amongst them ruined the King's affairs ; for such as he could neither humor nor engage by benefite, were often tempted to desert the common interest, and leave it a prey to the enemy.

Wherefor the Kings of Scotland made it ther Bussines to break the power of thes Superiors and Cheeffs, particularly K. James the 5th, as may be seen in the whole transactions of his reigne ; but all endeavors to this purpose proved weak and ineffectuall, till the Gospell came to be established in the kingdome by a Reformation from Popery.

Since the Reformation, the strenth of the nation stands upon another botome ; for the preaching of the Gospell haveing brought in a light upon the consciences of the people, the far greater part of the nation now weill neither follow superior nor cheeff, but in so far as they are convinced that the undertaking is consonant to the laws of God and the Kingdom.

And when K. Charles the 2^d. came to the Crown, he found the designe of his Predecessors so weell accomplished, that the nation was in ane inteir peace ; theft and robbery extinguisht ; vassallages and Clanes brok ; exact obedience to the Law : the Gospel preached over all the Kingdome ; and ane orderly discipline exercised in a weell governed Presbyterian Church, without slisme, division, or so much as contradiction. So that never Prince was better stated than he ; for he governed easily a people who had nothing to crave, save but to have his commands and obey.

But the designs of the two last reignes being to introduce Popery and arbitrary power, and men of conscience being improper instruments for bringing such purposes about, so contrary to their ingrained principles, it was found necessary to overturne all the good establishment already made in the nation, and act contrary to the Pollitick of former Kings, by setting up Superiors and Chieffs again, demolishing the streinths built amongst the Highland Clanes; so giving them loose reines to rob, and reassume ther former barbarity; whereby they became fitt instruments for destroying men of conscience, who were lyke to stand in the way of thes alterations that were intended to be made upon the religion and liberty of the nation.

This designe was prosecute, as is known, with much bloodshed, torture, rapine, and ruine of families; and was ending in the overthrow of all rights, both sacred and civil, when the Lord in his mercy raised up his Majesty who now reignes, to delyver Scotland from misery, and settle it upon its old and trew foundations; which is very neer accomplished, and that by methods lyke to those which were used by former kings in making the nation happy, viz. By making the parliaments free; by settleing the Church in its former integrity; by restoring the oppress to their liveings; and by settling Garrisons upon the necks of those barbarous people who were the tools of oppression, and are the constant disturbers of the nation. Were this fully compleated, ther rests no more but that the king command what he will, and have the pleasure to see the people joyfully obey all his comands, to the utmost farthing of ther Estates, and last drop of ther blood.

And certainly the present course of affairs can terminate in nothing but this, unless some contrary methods be taken to those which have lately been so successful in gaining the hearts of the people to the king; which will hardly happen, if ther be not ill designing men put in trust, who may weaken the hands of such as would serve the king best.

Therefor it is to be mynded, that ther is a party in Scotland whose affections can never be gaind to the King; and those are they who call themselves Episcopal, but realey are indifferent of that and all matters of that nature, and are adicted to nothing but King James, under whose protection they formerly oppress others; and, in spyte of all the kyndness and forbearance can be show'd them, will only comply to gain opportunity to bring him back if they can. The certainty of this appears as clear as the sun, from three or four following Evidences.

First, from the testimony of the best Officers in the Army; who declare, that after all ther converse and favourable endevors with these Men, they find not one in Scotland, who favors Episcopacy, but to the best of ther conjectures he hates the King and the Government, and would have back King James; nor doe they find one Presbyterian, lett him have never so many other faults, but would venter all for his Majesty, both agst K. James and all his other enemys.

Secondly, This appears to be trew, from these Mens taking the oaths to his Majesty in Parliament, after they were in compact with K. James to bring him back. They having sworn only to the effect they might have latitude to act and vote against the interest of him to whom they swore, and advance the interest of him whom by their oaths and subscriptions they had renounced.

A third evidence, and a most convinceing one, that they will omitt no opportunity of bringing back K: Ja: if they can, is ther department upon the miscarriage of the fleet; the King being in Ireland, Maj: Gen^l. Makay in Lockaber with the Forces, all Letters and Intelligence being stopt from England for severall Posts; then the Jacobite, or Episcopal party as they please to call

themselves, contrived fals news anent his Majesties death, and K : James his Landing in England with a French army, to whom the people had joynd, and the State had intirely submitted ; upon which ther were many forged Letters. Ther Preachers were very active in spreading these Reports, and in affoording Horses to any who would take armes ; by which means a body of 4 or 500 Horse were got together, who came the length of Stirling boasting great things, and burning the Country. While, in the mean tyme, upon the first report of ther Insurrection, and a small invitation from the King's Commissioner, some seaven thousand presbeterians had drawn themselves together about Glasgow, marching towards Stirling, wher the Enemy were ; and, as is said, litle fewer than 14 thousand more out of the Western Shyres were following with Carseland and Buntine ; the terror whereof not only chased these Jacobites, already on foot, away to the north, but also quashed all that was feard at that tyme from Northumberland, the South border, and some great men within the kingdome. By which it is evident, who are for the King, and who agst him ; who are willing to serve him, and who not ; who are able, and who not ; and, consequently, who ought to be trusted, and who not.

Fourthly, It is also to be remembered, that those few unhappie men who attempted the overthrow of the Government of late, no sooner fell in any disgust with his Majesty, but they joynd themselves in with these Jacobites, with whom they entered into league, received impressions from them, and formed designes with them of bringing back K. James ; which was prosecute with such bold endeavors amongst themselves, and such dark subtility amongst good people to whom they durst never discover the bottome, that it wanted litle, at several stepps, of taking its damnable effect. The craftiness of ther Insinuations was such, to persuade that the K : would never doe the things which are now doon ; And so great was ther influence, that the most and best of the people were become desparate, and out of hope of any good at all from his Majesty ; whilst in the mean tyme the Jacobites asserted (wher they durst be free,) that K : James was ready to doe all that could be requyred of him. But no sooner was ther any thing done in Parliam^t. to the satisfaction of the people, but ther hearts begane to warme towards the King ; and the Jacobite Combination began to break, which certainly had no power in its self, but in so farr as they were able by Craft and lyes to discourage honest men, and lay them asyde from owneing the King's interest. By all which it is evident, that the following positions are undeniably trew ; viz^t.

That the things now doon are of infinite value to the nation, and without which the people could never be easie, and therefor behooved to be doon.

2^o. That the nation, having received so great obligations from the King, will never be ingrate to him ; but will make returnes to him of all they are worth, ask it when he will.

3^o. That no Jacobite, or hardly any in Scotland who calls himself Episcopall, can be trusted by his Mätie.

4^o. That His Majesties Commissioner, in manadgeing as he did, and gaining the hearts of the people to the King, has doon both King and Countrey the best service could be doon ; and by that means hes rendered himself the welcomest Agent that His Majesty can hereafter employ to that nation.

I know that evill designeing men suggest two inconveniencies in what is doon, and they are both groundless.

The first is, that the Presbyterian Churchmen will employ the freedome the King and Parliament has given them too rigorously agst those of the Episcopall Profession, which may irritate the Church of England. Verily, such as

suggest this know very little of the Presbyterian Ministers' Concern for the king's satisfaction, and prosperity of his affairs. I am confident they will rather omit their own affairs than trouble his, which will presently be seen in the Department of this Assembly.

Another suggestion is, that the Commission of Parliament will be too rigorous in applying the Act anent Forfaulturs and fynes; which is also groundless; For that Committee is so tender in these matters, that indeed, in my sense, they are not so just as they ought to be: withall, their Power is but to report, and then is the whole matter entire in the king's own hands.

From all that is said it may be concluded, that if what is already in frame were compleited, and that one very small article past anent the constant President wholly indifferent to the King, but considerable to the People, hardly can Scotland wish for more.

For compleiting what is so far advanced, there may be 3 things reckoned necessary.

1. That the Councell of Estate be not mixt with troublesome Members.
2. That the Garrisons in the Highlands be rightly placed, and the Peace of these Countreys secured.
3. That the well-affected part of the nation be put in a condition to defend the Common Interest; and either armed, or at least armed provided, that may be put in their hands in case of necessity.

As to the first, it is in the King's hand.

As to the second, anent posting of Garrisons, and securing the Peace of the Highlands, His Majesty will find it necessary to employ 1800 foot in Garrisons, which are to be placed in eleven severall places; which places are so advantageously situated, as that they comprehend the whole Highlands. That if the King's forces be marching through these Countreys, there is no place they can be in, but they are within 12 miles of two or three of these Garrisons at once. They are proper for Magazines in time of War, and will save the trouble of Baggage horses when the forces are upon a March, and are most proper for curbing thefts and depredations in time of Peace.

The first and most considerable post is Inver-Lochie, which requires 1200 men; out of which there may be a Detachment of 40 at Keppach, 6 miles above Inverlochie, which opens the way into Baddenoch. At Rutven, in Baddenoch, there may be another Detachment of 80 men, also from Inverlochie. At Blair in Atholl, 80 of the other forces. At the castle of Bray Marr, 60. At Drummond, in Perthshire, 50. At Fin Larik upon Loch Tay, 50. At Dunstafnage, 50; which place, with the Castle Kilchume, ought to be both kept by the Countrymen of Argyleshire, upon the Earle's account (whilst his Business is a doing with Mull), and needs none of the King's forces. And upon the other side of Inverlochie, is requisite there be a Detachment of 80 men from thence, placed at Invergarry, which opens the ways to the Shires of Inverness and Ross. At Inverness it is fit there be a body of three hundred men, out of which 60 may be posted at Erchelish in Strathglass (14 miles from Inverness and 12 from Invergarry); that being upon the pass from Seafort and Lovat's Countreys to Lockaber.

These posts are all possessed already by His Majesty's forces, excepting Kippach and Invergarry, which may be easily had; and according as the Country becomes peaceable, the lesser Garrisons may be disbanded; only Inverlochie cannot be left, but if possible must be improved to a place of Commerce, to the effect the country about it may be made Civil.

And that the Government may be the sooner liberated from the necessity of

keeping these lesser Garrisons, it is humbly proposed, that His Majesty grant a Commission of Justiciary, for securing the Peace of the Highlands, to some select Gentlemen living in the Shyres most contiguous to them, as was doon in the time of K. Charles the Second ; which will, undoubtedly, have a powerful influence for suppressing of thefts and robberys, especially the forces being posted as is above said. It did good in K. Charles and K. James his tyme, when it was designed for none, nor yet put in any good hands ; so that now it cannot miss to doe good, being in honest mens hands, the Government weell disposed for the support of it, and the forces posted in a maner for the very use of it. It is also fit ther be Conveeners named in each District ; that these Conveeners have some allowance per annum, for the Incident charges they must be at beyond the rest ; lest, through the shifting to be at expence, the thing become less effectuall, as it did in K. James his tyme. The Comander of each Garrison ought to be upon the Commission, and the Governor of Inverlockie a Conveener.

It is also requisite for Inverlockie, that it have a particular Jurisdiction over the barbarous Countreys adjacent, as it had in former tymes ; lest any encouragement should be wanting to the Governor now which he had formerly.

And it is requisite that the Governor of Inverlocky be in no relation to any of the adjacent Superiors or Cheefs of Clanes, so it is necessary that none of the highland sort, who speak a language not understood by the present Governor, be put in with him in that place ; and what is presently amiss of that kynd would be rectified.

And that this may be the more effectually doon, Collonell Hill his own recommendation would be had anent his officers, who certainly will think of none but such as the Government may best trust.

It is also necessary that Hill's regiment consist of 1200 men ; in which case it will Employ all the Centinells that now are in the Regiments of Glencarne, Kenmure, and Grant ; these three Regiments being pitifully defective, as can be made appear. And as by the reducing these three to one, ther will be no fewer men in the service than now ther are ; so it will save the King twenty thousand lb. Sterline yearly, which may be employed to buy armes.

As to the 3d generall conclusion laid down for the security of the Government ; vizt. that the weell affected part of the nation be armed, and put in a condition to defend the Comon Interest ; the above proposall will contribute to it some thing. And if that be short, when the Parliam^t. meets, his Majesty lies it in his power to persuade them to accelerate the tearms of the Cess, at the rate of a Concession very easy to him, and which will bring in the Money and seasonably, as every thing may be doon to satisfaction.—*Culloden Papers*, No. XX. p. 14.

No. II.

“An account of the Highland Clans in Scotland, with a short narrative of the services they have rendered the crown, and the number of armed men they may bring to the field for the King's service.” Laid before Louis the Fourteenth by the Scottish Jacobites.

THE Highlanders are used to arms from their infancy, and may be reckoned as good as their equal number of the best regular troops in Europe ; and they have, on all occasions, (particularly under the command of the marquis of Montrose for

King Charles the First, and the viscount of Dundee for King James the Seventh,) in several battles defeated above double their number of old regular troops; and it is hardly possible to sustain their charge, if they be rightly led on; they being superior both in their arms and manner of fighting to any other troops.

The clans are here mentioned, with five hundred men to a regiment. It is true, that some of them can bring more men to the field, and others fewer; but, computing them one with another, they may be reckoned so.

The three great branches of the M'Donalds, viz.

CLANRANALD—GLENGARIE—Sir DONALD M'DONALD of Sleat.

The captains of Clanranald's family have still been loyal, and had a good regiment in the fields for Kings Charles I. and II. and this present captain, at fourteen years of age, was, with 500 men, at the battle of Killcranky for King James VII. This family has suffered much for their loyalty, by the oppressions of the family of Argyle, who have been rebels for four generations by past.

Clanranald's family and their followers are Catholics.

Glengarie his predecessor, the late Lord M'Donald, had still a regiment for the service of Kings Charles I. and II. and this present Glengarie had the same for King James VII.

This family has suffered much also by the family of Argyle. Both he and his followers are Catholics.

Sir Donald M'Donald of Sleat was with his regiment at the battle of Killcranky, for King James VII. and continues still very loyal.

These three branches of the M'Donalds, including other lesser branches of that name, may bring to the field, of very good men, 1500.

The three great branches of M'Duff, or Clanchattan, viz.

FARQUHARSONS—M'INTOSHES—M'PHERSONS.

The Farquharsons have still been loyal; for Findly Farquharson of Braemar and Inverey was killed carrying the royal banner at the battle of Pinkie, in the year 1547, against the English. His grandchild James Farquharson of Inverey was, at 70 years of age, kept two years prisoner at Edinburgh for his loyalty; and was forced to pay a considerable fine before he was released. His son, Colonel William Farquharson of Inverey, had still a good regiment for the service of Kings Charles I. and II. under the command of the marquises of Huntley and Montrose, and the earls of Glencairn and Middleton; and being still without pay, and at his own charges, mortgaged all his estate for the said service, worth about £500 sterling a-year. Yet his son, Colonel John Farquharson of Inverey, was among the first who took arms for King James VII.; and after all the other Highlanders had given over coming to the field, he raised betwixt eight and nine hundred men, and sustained the small party of the King's officers a whole campaign, acting offensively as well as defensive; for which he had six parishes (belonging to him and his relations,) entirely burnt and destroyed, which was procured by the Lord Forbes and his family; one of the most rebellious in Scotland, and their next neighbours. Witnesses of their last services and sufferings are Colonel Rattray, Major Holmes, Lieutenant-colonel Fitzsimons, and several others present in France. Many of the name of Farquharson and their followers are Catholics.

The M'Intoshes and M'Phersons, although they did not rise to arms all of them, yet they still sent men to the field, both for the services of Kings Charles I. and II., and for King James VII.; and are all of them at present loyal. These three fore-mentioned branches, including others lesser about them, can bring to the field, of very good men, 1500.

The M'Leans have still been loyal; their chief, and 500 of his name being

killed at Inverkething, for King Charles II. by Cromwell. They have been also in the field for King Charles I., and they had, at the battle of Killcranky, for King James VII., five hundred men, and will be found very ready, when the king shall have use for them. They are mightily oppressed by the family of Argyre. They can bring to the field, of very good men, 500.

The Camerons have still been loyal, and have still had a good regiment in the fields, for Kings Charles I. and II., and for King James VII., and continue very loyal ; and may bring to the field, of very good men, 500.

The Stuarts and Robertsons of Athol have still been loyal, and have still taken the field for the Kings Charles I. and II., and for King James VII., notwithstanding the present marquis of Athol, who was superior to the most part of them, was then for the prince of Orange ; but it is now the better, that he himself is loyal at present. They may bring to the field, of good men, 1000.

The M'Naughtons and Stuarts of Appin, have still been loyal to the Kings Charles I. and II., and to King James VII., and were in the fields for them : as was also M'Neil of Barra, who, with his men, are all Catholics. They may raise, of very good men, 500.

The Drummonds' loyalty is not to be doubted ; since they will certainly follow their chief the duke of Perth, or his son the earl of Drummond. They may bring to the field, of very good men, 500.

The M'Kenzies are neither to be doubted ; since they will follow their chief the marquis of Seaforth. They with other little names about them, may bring to the field, of indifferent good men, 1000.

The Frasers are loyally inclined ; and may bring to the field, of very good men, 500.

The M'Leods are loyally inclined ; and may bring to the field, of very good men, 500.

The Sinclairs are esteemed loyal ; and may bring to the field, of indifferent good men, 500.

The M'Kays and the Highlanders of Strathnaver ; their superiors are not loyal ; yet their commons can be brought to the field, and may do good service, being joined with others ; they may make, of very good men, 500.

The Rosses of Balnagowan ; their chief is not loyal, yet his clan might be brought to the field ; and they may make, of none of the best men, 500.

The Grants ; their chief has been very violent against the late King, and raised a regiment against him, and entertained it three years at his own charges ; yet his clan must be called to the field, and joined to others of unquestioned loyalty. They may raise, of none of the best of men, 500.

The Campbells of Breadalbin ; their superior, the earl of Breadalbin, is a very cunning man ; yet still pretends to be very loyal. They may bring to the field, of indifferent good men, 500.

The Grahams of Menteith, and Stuarts of Down are loyal ; and may bring to the field, of very good men, 500.

The M'Neils of Galchyle, M'Lauchlans, M'Kinnons, M'Aulays, M'Nabs, M'Gregors, M'Gibbons, M'Echins of Dumbarton, Argyre and Stirling shires are loyal ; and may bring to the field, amongst them all, of very good men, 1000.

The number of all the men is 12,000.

That which is commonly objected against the Highlanders is, that they do not keep discipline, and that they plunder.

To which it may be easily answered, that at all the times the Highlanders were in the fields, they neither had pay nor provisions, but what Providence sent them from day to day ; and each soldier being obliged to go and search for

himself, it was impossible to send an officer with each of them : so abuses could not be prevented ; and, were the most regular troops in Europe in the same circumstances, they might be found as ill, if not worse, than the Highlanders.

Most part of all Lowlanders are their inveterate enemies, and seldom or never speak or write favourably of them, and that from mere envy ; because a Highland clan is capable to render the King better service than some of their first nobility ; and, as to their lesser, a dozen and more^s of them cannot bring so many men to the field as one clan.

The King might likewise expect from the low countries of Scotland, at least, 20,000 men ; for the King hath generally, all the nation over, three for him, for one against him. But supposing he hath but half, as certainly he hath more, the militia of Scotland being 22,000 men, that half has but to double their militia, which they may easily do, will make above 20,000 men. But the King must carry arms for them.

Whereas the Highlanders are generally well armed of themselves ; and, at most, will not want above a fourth part of their arms.

The Lowlanders will likewise want officers.—*Nairne Papers, D. N. Vol. II. folio, No. 23. Macpherson, Stuart Papers, Vol. II. p. 117.*

No. III.

“ In various letters to the earl of Middleton, Sir William Ellis, and others, from their correspondents in England, it appears that some friends proposed to the Chevalier de St George to change his religion, at least, to have protestant servants, and a protestant clergyman with him. To satisfy them in this last particular, Lesly, the famous non-juring clergyman, so often mentioned in these papers under the feigned name of Lamb, was sent for to Bar-le-duc in the room of Mr West who was not so well known. Mr Lesly wrote a letter on the subject, addressed to a member of parliament. It was openly handed about by the party, and at the same time the Chevalier himself wrote another on the same subject.”—*Macpherson.*

“ *Abstract of a letter, written in his Majesty's hand, on the subject of religion, to a person in England, to be shown to his friends there.*”

A copy in Nairne's hand.

March 13th, 1714.

I WOULD very much have wished not to have been obliged, at this time, to enter upon so nice a subject as that of religion ; but your two last letters are so pressing and positive, that it would be an unpardonable dissimulation in me, should I not answer your letters with the same sincerity you write them.

I shall, therefore, begin by putting you in mind of the last conversation I had with you upon that subject, to which I have nothing to add, but that I neither want counsel nor advice to remain unalterable in my fixed resolution, of never dissembling my religion : but rather to abandon all than act against my conscience and honour, cost what it will. These are my sentiments ; and, had I others, or should I act contrary to those I have, where is the man of honour that would trust me ? and how could ever my subjects depend upon me, or be happy under me, if I should make use of such a notorious hypocrisy to get myself amongst them ? I know their generous character could not but detest both the crime itself, and him that should be guilty of it. And would they but give

themselves time seriously to consider, I am persuaded they would not make my religion the only obstacle to my restoration ; it being itself the greatest security for their liberties, properties, and religion, by putting it out of my power ever to invade them should I intend it ; which is so far from my thoughts, that, on the contrary, I am most willing and ready to grant all the reasonable security that can be demanded of me, in relation to all these points, all my desire being to make them a flourishing and happy people.

I can have no other interest but theirs ; whereas, how many other rightful heirs are there to the crown after me, who being powerful foreigners, may have inclinations equal to their power, and may, very probably, never give rest to England, till they enslave it in good earnest ?

Will my subjects be always so blinded, as to make a monster of what is in effect their greatest security ; and not perceive and endeavour to prevent the real and just causes they have of fear and apprehension ?

My present sincerity, at a time it may cost me so dear, ought to be a sufficient earnest to them of my religious observance of whatever I promise them : for I can say, with truth, that I heartily abhor all dissimulation and double dealing, and I love my subjects even now too well not to wish, as much for their sakes as my own, that they would at least open their eyes to see their true interest, and timely provide for their future peace and quiet.

I know my grandfather and father too had always a good opinion of the principles of the church of England, relating to monarchy ; and experience sufficiently sheweth, that the crown was never struck at but she also felt the blow ; and, though some of her chief professors have failed in their duty, we must not measure the principles of a church by the actions of some particular persons.—*Nairne Papers, D. N. Vol. III. 4to. No. 27. and Vol. IV. No. 54. Macpherson, Stuart Papers. Vol. II. p. 525.*

No. IV.

An Anonymous Letter from Mr Duncan Forbes to Sir Robert Walpole ; from a copy extant in the President's handwriting. This letter is supposed to have been written in August, 1716.

SIR,—My constant affection for my King and Country will not permit me to see the interest of both in danger of being ruined, without a deep concern ; and when I discover that the mischief proceeds from the drowsy negligence or selfish designs perhaps of some ministers, I cannot help endeavouring to obviate the misfortune by representing the case to such as ought to profit by the admonition. What moves me to address this unsigned remonstrance to you is, that of a great while I have looked upon Mr Walpole to be an honest man ; and am still very unwilling to part with that belief, notwithstanding of very shrewd appearances to the contrary : however, I shall form my opinion in that matter as I find this notice is used.

You need give yourself no trouble in endeavouring to find me out ; the attempt will be impossible ; only, lest you should mistake me, from some of the sentiments after expressed, I think it necessary to tell you that I am, and ever was, a very zealous friend to the present settlement, which alone prompts me to give you this intimation ; and that during the late confusions I exposed myself as usefully for His Majesty's service, as any of those on whom the king, ill informed, has bestowed the most distinguishing marks of his favour. This de-

claration, since I am unknown, does not hurt modesty ; and yet will appear to be true, if there is a proper occasion for it. I have but one thing more to acquaint you with, before I enter on the subject ; and that is, that it will not be in your power to suppress this representation. My respect to the king will hinder me from publishing it ; but I will convey it into hands that will take care of it : if you do not perceive, you will guess at my meaning, and act as you will be answerable.

The people of Great Britain are but too well distinguished by the known designations of Whig and Tory ; of which the Whigs, to a man, are affectionate to His Majesty ; and the Tories, on the other hand, bating a very few, madly addicted to the Pretender.

As His Majesty has prudently chosen to settle the administration in the hands of his friends the Whigs, it is unquestionably his interest to keep that part of the nation satisfied with the public management ; and at the same time to take as few steps, which may sharpen the resentment of the disaffected part of the people, as the security of the government will possibly admit of. Britain receives still another distinction from the two different kingdoms whereof it is composed ; and though it is undoubtedly his Majesty's interest to cherish England, as being the most valuable part of the king's dominions, it is by no means prudent to disoblige Scotland by open injuries, which may create general dissatisfactions, not to be ended but with the ruin of that part of the United Kingdom.

Sensible that the ministry has lately taken, and still pursues, measures unnecessarily disobliging to the king's friends, exasperating the disaffected, and in a particular manner ruinous to Scotland, I cannot help offering this representation ; in which, as I am a Scotsman, and best acquainted with the affairs of that country, I shall chiefly touch its grievances ; resolved to assert no fact, and to give the character of no person, that I will not answer at the *peril* of my head, if by clearing it I may do my King and Country service.—When the late Rebellion was happily ended by the Pretender's flight, his deluded followers found themselves all in chains, or obliged to surrender and sue for mercy, or to fly their country with him. Every man concerned in that odious work certainly deserved death, and the punishment due by law ; but humanity and prudence forbade it. It was not fit to dispeople a country ; nor prudent to grieve the king's best friends, who mostly had some concern in those unfortunate men ; or expedient to give too just grounds of clamour to the disaffected.

It will be agreed on all hands, that the proper rule in this case would have been, to have punished only as many as was necessary for terror, and for weakening the strength of the rebels for the future ; and to extend mercy to as many as it could conveniently be indulged to with the security of the government ; and this maxim every thinking Whig had then in his mouth, however offended at the insolences of the rebels. In place of a course of this kind, the method followed was, 1st, To try all the criminals in England ; 2dly, To detain in prison all those in custody in Scotland, except some who had interest with certain great men to obtain a previous pardon, to the manifest dishonour of the government ; 3dly, To attain a vast number of Scots Noblemen and Gentlemen ; 4thly, To put it out of His Majesty's power to grant any part of estates forfeited ; and 5thly, To appoint a Commission for inquiry, and levying the rebels' goods and chattels. The necessary consequences of this procedure in general are two ; first, it makes all those who had the misfortune to be seduced into the Rebellion, with their children, relatives, and such as depend on them, for ever desperate ; and it is hard to tell what occasions may offer for venting their rage. We see that want and hard circumstances lead men daily into follies, without

any other temptation ; but when those circumstances are brought on by adherence to any principle or opinion, it is certain the sufferers will not quit their attempts to better their condition, but with their lives. 2d, As there are none of the rebels who have not friends among the king's faithful subjects, it is not easy to guess how far a severity of this kind, unnecessarily pushed, may alienate the affections even of those from the government. But in particular, as this case relates to Scotland, the difficulty will be insurmountable. I may venture to say, there are not 200 Gentlemen in the whole kingdom who are not very nearly related to some one or other of the rebels. Is it possible that a man can see his daughter, his grandchildren, his nephews, or cousins, reduced to beggary and starving unnecessarily by government, without thinking very ill of it ? and where this is the case of a whole nation, I tremble to think what dissatisfactions it will produce against a settlement so necessary for the happiness of Britain.

If all the Rebels, with their wives, children, and immediate dependants, could be at once rooted out of the earth, the shock would be astonishing ; but time would commit it to oblivion, and the danger would be less to the constitution, than when thousands of innocents, punished with misery and want for the offences of their friends, are suffered to wander about the country, sighing out their complaints to Heaven, and drawing at once the compassion, and moving the indignation of every human creature.

Zealots and short-sighted people may perhaps think it just, that a nation so involved with Rebels should suffer ; but let those men consider, that it was much more owing to Providence, and to the vigilance of our King, than to the inclinations of the people, that England did not discover as many Rebels even, in proportion to its extent, as Scotland did ; and then let them examine how far their reflection will hold.

I should spend too much time, and repeat what you, no doubt, Sir, have heard often urged in parliament, did I enter upon the improprieties and inconveniencies of the Forfeiture Bill, as it affects Creditors ; therefore I shall pass over that article, and satisfy myself with assuring you, that those consequences, which at first might easily have been foreseen, have now accordingly fallen out ; and that in this kingdom there are not an hundred persons who can be restrained from murmuring, upon any other consideration, than that they hope his Majesty, against the ensuing sessions of Parliament, will overturn that fatal Bill.

It's pity the ministers, in a point so important, should not be at some pains to find out what impression this step makes on the people. A faithful informer must report, that the King's friends in Scotland begin to fear that the nation is devoted to destruction ; and that the most forward abettors of the conduct of the Government, are forced to lay the blame on some particular persons, and to promise that the measure will speedily be altered, as the only possible means to preserve the hearts of his Majesty's loyal subjects dutiful to him. In short, Sir, this course will very soon make a standing army necessary ; the King's enemies say, that is the design of the ministry ; and it's certain his friends will believe it, unless things take another turn.

If this forfeiting Bill was gone into, when the danger was over, from any other view than that of crushing this poor country, it must have been with the hopes of levying money for the Public Service ; and if it appear (as by and by it will) to a demonstration, that it can have no such effect, 'tis hoped, with reason, that the King and Parliament will either take it away, or not blame the people who construe the contrivance of it into a design to ruin the nation.

To satisfy any person that the forfeitures in Scotland will scarce defray the

charges of the Commission, if the saving Clause in favours of the Creditors take place, I offer but two considerations, that upon inquiry will be found incontestable. First, it is certain, that of all the Gentlemen who launched into the late Rebellion, the tenth man was not easy in his circumstances; and if you abate a dozen of Gentlemen, the remainder, upon paying their debts, could not produce much money clear; nor was there any thing more open to observation, than that the men of estates, however disaffected in their principles, kept themselves within the law; when at the same time men supposed loyal, in hopes of bettering their low fortunes, broke loose.

2dly. It's known, that the titles by which almost all the estates in Scotland are possessed are diligences upon debts affecting those estates purchased in the Proprietor's own name, or in that of some trustees; now it's certain, that when the Commissioners of Enquiry began to seize such estates, besides the debts truly due to real Creditors, such a number of latent debts will be trumped up, not distinguishable from the true ones by any else than the Proprietor, as will make the enquiry fruitless, and the Commission a Charge upon the Treasury, as well as a nuisance to the nation.

By what is above said (which, upon an examination, you will find to be certain truth,) it will be evident, that the forfeited estates are in themselves inconsiderable; and that they are good for little or nothing to any others except the owners: wherefore it will be to the last degree imprudent, for the sake of such a trifle, or rather for the sake of creating a revenue to the Commissioners of Enquiry, to stir up a disaffection in the nation; which may God and the wisdom of our K. soon prevent.

But, allowing that this Bill should bring in 10 or £20,000 per annum clear, will any reasonable man imagine that that profit is to be put in balance with the certain loss of the affections of the people; especially when that event will bring on £100,000 charge for maintaining an army to keep the nation orderly.

As I see with concern the terrible effects of the forfeiting bill, I am far from thinking that the Rebels should go unpunished; but then that punishment ought to proceed according to the rule above set down; that is, no farther than is necessary for the security of the Government, and for the terror of others who might attempt the like afterwards. Pursuant to this rule, an easy and certain method might be fallen upon; for example—

1st. Let the most leading, the most powerful, and the most malicious of the Rebels, be pitched upon; let them be executed if in custody; if not, their estates forfeited for ever. These men, in both nations, might possibly not exceed the number of 20 or thereby.

2dly. Let an Indemnity, by Act of Parliament, be published to all (excepting such as his Majesty shall think fit) who shall surrender against a certain day, and at a certain place, and there to have their names recorded.

3dly. Let those persons be only entitled to pardon and to their estates, upon their finding bail, 1. For their good behaviour; 2. That they shall meddle in no public business, elections, &c. 3. That they shall present themselves once or oftener a year at Edinburgh, or when his Majesty shall think fit, there to answer to any Charge that can be made against them; and 4. That they shall neither wear arms, nor converse one with the other, nor go without their respective Counties without licence, under several Penalties.

These or such like securities might be devised, whereby the Government would be absolutely safe, and the minds of all men sweetened; while as, at the same time, by the execution of the most remarkable criminals all the ends of Punishment would be fulfilled. And if some such measure is not pursued, it is

with the last degree of regret I tell you, that the Pretender will gain many more friends by the punishment of the Rebels, than he will lose by their overthrow.

After representing this important false step, I next proceed to take notice of another ; which, tho' of less prejudice to the K. creates a very general disrespect to his ministry ; and that is, that in a season when matters of the greatest weight are on the wheel, this Country should be entirely neglected, and the management of it committed to a set of men hated or despised by almost all the King's friends.

You cannot be ignorant, that the set of men known here by the name of Squadroné, have in a very particular manner been of many years odious to the people, on account of their selfish adherence to one another, in opposition to every interest but their own ; and you may easily persuade yourself, that they have recommended themselves very little by their mean assentation to what has so sensibly injured their Country ; especially as their interest at the bottom is very inconsiderable, extending little farther than the individual confederates. These men are become in a more particular manner the derision of the King's friends ; since it is found out, that they, who never did or durst attempt a laudable thing for his service whilst danger threatened the Constitution, have now had hardiness enough to arrogate the merit of every useful action to themselves, and to aim at blackening the reputation of the King's General, by whose conduct and authority alone, we are all satisfied, the torrent of the Rebellion could possibly have been stopped.

It is no small cause of discontent, to such as served the King faithfully in this nation, to find, that a Ministry can be so designing, or so far imposed on, as to quit with the Duke of Argyle ; worthy in himself, but chiefly valuable for his steady adherence to his Majesty ; moved by a parcel of fictions, contrived and abetted by certain politicians, who are become a proverb in their country.

Nobody here can forget the fictitious scheme contrived by Gen^l. Cadogan in the beginning of February last ; by which he persuaded the Court that it was then possible to pursue the Rebels into their hills, and obtained orders for that purpose, of design to have detained the D. of Argyle about that affair. No one can forget, that the same General, having found means to delay his expedition till April, undertook it then, without a possibility of success : and every one still has it fresh in his memory, that this man, having fatigued the troops, and spent a great deal of money, was necessitated, by a treaty dishonourable to the Government, to save his own shame, in making articles with a puny Highland Chief, G—— ; inconsiderable in every other respect, than as he was a malicious Rebel, and famous for obtaining Conditions of the British General, which afterwards were ratified by a formal Remission ; and the King's friends will long remember, that this pardoned Rebel was lately in this town, a very forward man of Council with the Squadroné in all their meetings.

This instance of the Court being imposed on, by the knot of men now mentioned, to grant a remission to the worthlessst rogue living, is no small mortification to the lovers of the Constitution ; and it receives a good deal of addition from what is at present adoining ; viz. a distinction, that every prisoner who was taken in action, or surrendered himself to the King's mercy, in the hands of the D. of Argyle, is ordered to be transported to England to be tried ; whereas those who surrendered to any of the party aforesaid, are almost all left at home ; and if any one goes alongst with the rest, it is of design that he may escape for want of evidence ; as in the case of M^r. Kenzie of Fraserdale, in whose behalf the D. of Athol, to whom he surrendered, undertakes to prove, that he was forced into the Rebellion, tho' he actually marched at the head of 500 men to Perth.

It is scarce supposable, that a ministry could do a thing more lawless or more injudicious, than to commit the care of public management, at a time so critical as this is, to men so much the derision, and at the same time so much the aversion, of their Country, as those to whom the charge is committed in Scotland.

Now, Sir, do you judge if it is for the honour or interest of the King, or his ministry, at a time when the Nation is (I must say) in a just ferment, to entrust the public concern to such managers, especially when the kingdom is yet at a loss how to account for the disgrace of that man, whom they lately accounted, under the King, their bulwark against Popery and tyranny.

By what I have said in the onset, Sir, you may guess I will not rest satisfied singly with having transmitted this to you. I must know something of your sentiments about it. I'm resolved to wait till the 20th of September; and if in the London Gazette, before that date, I see nothing advertised concerning a letter dated and signed as this is, you may trust to it, I shall complain of it in such a manner, as you shall have no reason to be satisfied.

I am,

Sir,

Your humble Servant,

Y. Z.

Culloden Papers, No. LXXXII. p. 61.

No. V.

Memoir dispersed over Europe by the Chevalier de St George in his own vindication in reference to his wife's separation.

ROME, November 13, 1725.

It has been the constant practice of the King's enemies to project measures for sowing divisions and misunderstandings amongst those who are thoroughly fixed in their loyalty to His Majesty and are most capable to serve him, and by the means of those who still pretended to adhere to it, to draw him by specious appearances into steps against his honour and the good of his service.

His Majesty had reason to think that, by the prudent measures he had taken, he would not have been much troubled for the future by such contrivances; but these days past have afforded but too strong and too publick an instance of the contrary.

It is some time since the King suspected that his enemies and pretended friends, finding that they could not impose upon His Majesty, were endeavouring by malicious insinuations to animate the Queen against His Majesty's most faithful servants, and particularly against him who had the greatest share in his confidence and affairs, in hopes, no doubt, by that means to compass what they despair'd of being able to come at by any other; and they so far succeeded, that for some time past the Queen could not conceal her dislike to such persons, and the King could easily see that her behaviour towards himself was alter'd, altho' he could not discover any real ground for either one or t'other. His Majesty was therefor willing to impute them to ill offices and humour, which he hop'd would pass with a little time and patience on his part, and therefore he did not make any change in his conduct towards the Queen, who, ever since her marriage, had been entirely mistress of his purse, such as it is in his bad circumstances. His Majesty also continued to her the same liberty she had always enjoy'd, of going out and coming home when she pleased, of seeing what

company she liked best, and of corresponding with whom she thought fit ; and to encourage her, diverting and amusing herself more than had hitherto appear'd agreeable to her inclinations.

In this state of things the King could not but be astonished to the last degree when he was told by one much in the Queen's confidence, that if he did not dismiss the earl of Inverness from his service she would retire into a convent, altho' she did not give any reason for so extraordinary a proposal and resolution ; and on Friday last the Queen told the King herself that she was resolved to retire, but still without bringing any reasons for it, and has seem'd to persist ever since in this resolution, tho' without coming to the execution, altho' on the Friday she had actually taken leave of some ladys here on that account.

The King could not but be sensible of the indignity done him by this publick way of proceeding ; but as he was perswaded the Queen had been misled and might be reclaim'd, he had much more compassion for her having thus exposed herself than resentment against the unjust eclat she had made, and therefore not only continued to live with her as usual, but invited her in the most moving terms to own her error and return to her duty, neither of which she has yet done, but it is to be hoped she soon will, by the prudent and moderate measures the King is taking in order to reclaim her.

The King really thought all this while that Lord Inverness was the chief object of these designs, for tho' her majesty's great and publick uneasiness had begun on her first being acquainted with the Princes being to be taken out of Mrs Sheldon's hands, yet her majesty had expressed herself to severall persons favourably of Lord Dunbar, and had never mentioned to the King the least dislike or disapprobation of that lords being governour to the prince, which made it appear the more extraordinary to his majesty, when in a conversation he had on Monday last with a person of great worth and consideration of this place, (who he knew had been endeavouring to prevail on her majesty not to do both the king and herself the injury of retiring into a convent,) he found that she was, if possible, more uneasy on Lord Dunbar's account than on Lord Inverness's, under pretence that the prince's religion was in danger while he had the care of them, and that her majesty was perswaded that those two lords were obnoxious to his English friends, and that their being about his person was one of the greatest obstacles to his restoration.

As Lord Inverness was extremely afflicted at the Queen's behaviour on this occasion, and to think that he might be represented as the unfortunate, tho' innocent occasion of a disunion betwixt their majesties, he did most earnestly intreat of the King that he would allow him to retire from business, which nothing but his majesty's orders to the contrary in the most peremptory manner, could have prevented ; his majesty having at the same time assured both Lord Dunbar and him that their remaining in his service under circumstances so very disagreeable, was the strongest instance they could possibly give him of their inviolable attachment to his person and cause.

All these facts and circumstances put together, it is very easy to see that in all these matters the Queen must have been originally imposed upon, and guided, not by turbulent and factious friends, but by real enemies, who would have drove the King to that extremity, as either to see his wife abandon him, or by yielding to her unjust demands, give up the management of his children and his affairs, and put himself into the hands, not of the Queen, but of those who, it was manifest, had in their view the ruin of both.

The King is sensible how prejudicial to his interest this unfortunate eclat

must be, but he is perswaded that the malice of his enemies on this occasion must turn against themselves when the true state of the question is known.

No. VI.

Letter from the Chevalier de St George to Young Lochiel, addressed to Mr Johnstone, junior.

April 11th, 1727.

I AM glad of this occasion to let you know how well pleased I am to hear of the care you take to follow your father's and uncle's example in their loyalty to me ; and I doubt not of your endeavours to maintain the true spirit in the clan. Allan is now with me, and I am always glad to have some of my brave Highlanders about me, whom I value as they deserve. You will deliver the inclosed to its address, and doubt not of my particular regard for you, which, I am persuaded, you will always deserve.

JAMES R.

You will tell Mr MacLachlan that I am very sensible of his zeal for my service.

No. VII.

Letter from Allan Cameron to his nephew, Young Lochiel.

ALBANO, October 3, 1729.

DEAR NEPHEW,

Yours of September 11th came to my hand in due time, which I took upon me to shew his majesty, who not only was pleased to say that you wrote with a great deal of zeal and good sense, but was so gracious and good as to write you a letter with his own hand, herewith sent you, wherein he gives full and ample powers to treat with such of his friends in Scotland as you think are safe to be trusted in what concerns his affairs, until an opportunity offers for executing any reasonable project towards a happy restoration, which they cannot expect to know until matters be entirely ripe for execution, and of which they will be acquainted directly from himself ; and therefore whatever they have to say at any time either by you, by the power given by the King's letter, or by any other person, the account is to be sent to his majesty directly, and not to any second hand, as the King has wrote to you in his letter. Dear nephew, now that his majesty has honoured you with such a commission, and gracious letter concerning yourself and family, and that he has conceived so good an opinion of your good sense and prudence, I hope this, your first appearance, by the King's authority, will answer the trust he has been pleased to put in your loyalty, zeal, and good conduct, of which I have no reason to fear or doubt, considering the step you have already made. By executing this commission with prudence and caution, depend on it you have an opportunity of serving the King to good purpose, which in time will redound to the prosperity of your friends and family. I need say no more on this head, since you will see by the King's letter fully the occasion you have of serving his majesty, your coun-

try, and yourself. But as I am afraid you will have difficulty to read it, his hand not being easy to those who are not well acquainted with it, the substance of it is, that he will not let you go without shewing you how sensible he is of your zeal and affection to his interest and service ; that Scotland, in general, when it is in his power, (hoping that happy time will one day come,) shall reap the fruits of the constant loyalty of his friends there ; that you represent to them to keep themselves in readiness, not knowing how soon there may be occasion for their service ; but that they take special care not to give a handle to the present government to ruin them, by exposing themselves to its fury by an unreasonable or imprudent action ; for that they shall have his majesty's orders directly when it is proper : and recommends entire union among yourselves in general : and towards the end of the letter he is pleased to make yourself and family particular promises of his favour, when it please God he is restored ; and while he is abroad, all that is in his power. I hope this hint of the meaning of the letter will enable you, by taking some pains, to read it through. It being wrote in the King's own hand, there was no occasion for signing it.

I think it proper you should write to the King by the first post after you receive this letter. I need not advise you what to say in answer to such a gracious letter from your King, only let it not be very long. Declare your duty and readiness to execute his majesty's commands on all occasions, and your sense of the honour he has been pleased to do you in giving you such a commission. I am not to chuse words for you, because I am sure you can express yourself in a dutiful and discreet manner without any help. Your are to write, Sir, on a large margin, and to end, your most faithful and obedient subject and servant ; and to address it, To the King, and no more, which inclose to me sealed. I pray send me the copy of it on a paper inclosed, with any other thing that you do not think fit or needful the King should see in your letter to me : because I will shew your letter in answer to this, wherein you may say that you will be mindful of all I wrote to you, and what else you think fit.

This letter is so long that I must take the occasion of the next post to write you concerning my own family : but the King, as well as Mr Hay, bid me assure you that your father should never be in any more straits, as long as he, the King, lived ; and that he would take care from time to time to remit him, so that I hope you may be pretty easy as to that point.

I must tell you, that what you touched on in your letter to me of the 14th August concerning those you saw there live so well, beyond what they could have done at home, they must have been provided for some other way than out of the King's pocket ; and depend on it, some others have thought themselves obliged to supply them.

You are to assure yourself and others that the King has determined to make Scotland happy, and the clans in particular, when it pleases God to restore him. This is consistent with my certain knowledge. You are only to touch upon this in a discreet way, and to a very few discreet persons ; but all these matters I leave to your own good sense and prudence, for you may be sure there are people who will give account of your behaviour after you return home ; but I hope none will be able to do it to your disadvantage. Keep always to the truth in what you inform the King, and that will stand ; though even on the truth itself you are to put the handsomest gloss you can on some occasions.

You are to keep on good terms with Glengary, and all other neighbours, and let by-gones be by-gones, as long as they continue firm to the King's interest ; let no private animosity take place, but see to gain them with courtesy and good management, which I hope will give you an opportunity to make a figure

amongst them ; not but you are to tell the truth, if any of them fail in their duty to the King or country.

As to Lovat, pray be always on your guard, but not so as to lose him ; on the contrary, you may say that the King trusts a great deal to the resolution he has taken to serve him, and expects he will continue in that resolution. But, dear nephew, you know very well that he must give true and real proof of his sincerity, by performance, before he can be entirely reckoned on, after the part he has acted. This I say to yourself, and therefore you must deal with him very dexterously ; and I must leave it to your own judgment what lengths to go with him, since you know he has always been a man whose chief view was his own interest. It is true he wishes our family well ; and I doubt not he would wish the King restored, which is his interest, if he has the grace to have a hand in it after what he has done. So, upon the whole, I know not what advice to give you, as to letting him know that the King wrote you such a letter as you have ; but, in general, you are to make the best of him you can, but still be on your guard, for it is not good to put too much in his power before the time of executing a good design. The King knows very well how useful he can be if sincere, which I have represented as fully as was necessary.

This letter is of such bulk, that I have inclosed the King's letter under cover with another letter addressed for your father, as I will not take leave of you till next post. I add only that I am entirely yours,

A. CAMERON.

No. VIII.

Letter from the Chevalier de St George to one of his adherents in Scotland,

March 11th, 1743.

I RECEIVED, a few days ago, yours of the 18th February, and am far from disapproving your coming into France at this time. The settling a correspondence betwixt us on this side of the sea and our friends in Scotland, may be of consequence in this juncture. I hope you will have concerted some safe method for that effect with Lord Semple before you leave him ; and that once determined, you will, I think, have done very well to return home, where you may be of more use than abroad. I shall say nothing here of what is passing in France, of which you will have been informed by Lord Semple ; and you may be well assured that I shall neglect nothing that depends on me to induce the French to assist us, as it is reasonable to hope they will, if there be a general war. But if they ever undertake any thing in my favour, I shall, to be sure, have some little warning of it before ; but that may be so short that I fear it will be impossible that General Keith can come in time to Scotland, how much soever both I, and, I am persuaded, he himself also desires it ; because you will easily see that one of his rank and distinction cannot well quit the service he is in either abruptly or upon an uncertainty. I remark all you say on that subject ; and when the time comes, it shall be my care to dispose all such matters as much as in me lies for what I may then think the real good of my service, and the satisfaction of my friends,—for in such particulars it is scarce possible to take proper resolutions before the time of execution. I had, some time ago, a proposal made to me in relation to the seizing of Stirling castle. What I then heard, and what you now say on that subject, is so general, that

I think it is not impossible but that the two proposals may be found originally one and the same project. I wish, therefore, you would enter a little more into particulars, that I may be the better able to determine what directions to send. As to what is represented about the vassals, I suppose what you mean is the same as what I have inserted in the draught of a declaration for Scotland I have long ago had by me, viz., that the vassals of those who should appear against my forces on a landing, should be freed of their vassalage, and hold their lands immediately of the crown, provided such vassals should declare for me, and join heartily in my cause. As this is my intention, I allow my friends to make such prudent use of it as they may think fit. Before you get this you will probably have received what was wrote to you from hence about the Scotch episcopal clergy, so that I need say nothing on that subject here, more than that I hope the steps taken by me will give satisfaction, and promote union in that body. It is a great comfort to me to see the gentlemen of the concert so zealous, so united, and so frank in all that relates to my service; and I desire you will say all that is kind to them in my name. I remarked you have advanced £100 of your money for Sir J. E., which I take very well of you; but I must desire you will not give me any more proofs of that kind of your good will towards me: and as for what is past, I look upon it as a personal debt, and shall take care that it be repaid. I remark what you say about the difficulty there is of raising money. I foresaw that would be no easy matter, and I think it should not be insisted upon. I think I have now taken notice of all that required any answer, in what you wrote to me and Morgan; and shall add nothing further here, but to assure you of the continuance of my good opinion of you, and that your prudent and zealous endeavours to forward my service shall never be forgot by me.

No. IX.

Answer to some Queries sent by the Chevalier de St George, or by some persons in his interest, to an adherent in Scotland.

EDINBURGH, Jan. 8th, 1736.

ANSWER I.—The leading men amongst the loyalists are much diminished; and the severity of the times obliging most people to disguise their sentiments, it is hard, at this juncture, to make any condescendence who would make an appearance upon a proper opportunity; nor can that easily be penetrated into, except by a man of approved zeal and integrity, vested with a public character for that purpose.

The country party, that makes such a bustle, have probably very little loyalty joined to their discontent, most of them being people of avowed opposite principles; and though the miserable situation of the country, both at home and abroad, ought to have produced a change, and roused the ancient spirit of liberty, yet that it has done it, is uncertain; therefore the safest conclusion, though not perhaps the most just, is, that they want more to change the minister than the master.

II.—It is to be presumed that most of those concerned in the last rebellion, being almost superannuated, would rather wish well to than engage again in the cause.

III.—The most leading men, and most esteemed amongst the clans that I know of, are Sir Alexander Macdonald and Cameron of Lochiel.

IV.—The young Highlanders do not know the use of arms as well as the old; but they bear a deep resentment against the authors of such a great difference between them and their forefathers.

V.—The Cameronians are very well armed, and regularly regimented amongst themselves; but then they are so giddy and inconstant that they cannot be depended upon, not knowing what they would be at, only they are strongly enraged against the present government.

VI.—A native seems preferable to a foreign commander; but to name the person would be abundantly too presumptuous for any one in my sphere.

The originals of the four preceding papers were in the possession of Cameron of Fassefern, Lochiel's nephew, and it is supposed are still in the possession of the family. They form the first four Nos. of the Appendix to Home's History of the Rebellion.

* No. X.

Letter.—The Chevalier de St George to Drummond of Bochaldy.

ROME, 29th Nov. 1714.

I HOPE the letter I wrote to you in May last for your friend's† perusal is long before this come safe to his hands, and that it will have given him satisfaction. What I have now to say to you for his use also chiefly regards some certain gentlemen who are his friends, and you will readily guess who I mean under that denomination. It is true those gentlemen have not been hitherto looked upon as well wishers of mine; but I have at the same time observed with pleasure, for this long while, that they have constantly opposed the measures of the government, and endeavoured to pursue such as they thought tended to the good of our country. I am sensible that many of them are men of great talents, probity, and experience; that they are capable of forming great projects, and pursuing them with vigour, unanimity, and secrecy; and whatever may have been formerly their opinion, I should naturally think that what is now passing in Europe, and particularly in Britain, should demonstrate to them that their doing speedy justice to me and my family is the only means left to save the nation from utter ruin and destruction. The present state of affairs abroad affords no improbable nor remote prospect of some foreign powers espousing vigorously the support of my cause; and I have a very great number of friends, already in the island, who would, I am persuaded, concur heartily in all measures which tend to the recovery of my just rights; but you know, at the same time, how much I would prefer the having my restoration accomplished by my subjects alone, and I should not despair of seeing it brought about in that manner, if your friend, and his friends, entered heartily into measures for that effect. What I said in the letter above mentioned, should, I think, be sufficient to remove all fears and jealousies they may have in regard to me; and as for themselves, they may be well assured of my acknowledging in the most grateful manner the services they may render me. I look upon myself to be a common

* This and the following Numbers are taken from the original documents themselves, or from the original draughts or copies among the Stuart Papers, in the possession of his Majesty, for the use of the present work. The copies taken from the originals are distinguished by an asterisk.

† Mr Erskine of Grange.

father to all my subjects, and shall never make any distinction of names or parties, but endeavour to provide for the general welfare and safety of them all, and make no other distinction amongst them, but such as merit and services may deserve and authorize. You will easily see that I cannot enter into further particulars in this letter; but when you communicate it to your friend, and discourse on the contents of it with him, you will assure him in the strongest manner, that if he and his friends answer the good opinion I have of them, and enter seriously and heartily into measures for bringing about my restoration, that there is no reasonable demand they can make, either in behalf of themselves in particular, or of our country in general, that I shall not readily and cheerfully comply with. [The preceding is in the handwriting of Edgar, the Chevalier's private secretary; what follows is in James's own hand.] I shall expect with impatience an account from you of what may pass betwixt you and your friend in consequence of this letter, to which I have nothing further to add, but my best wishes that safety and success may attend you both in your endeavours to serve me.

No. XI.

The Letter, of which the foregoing is a copy, was inclosed in a private Letter from the Chevalier to Drummond of the following tenor.

In consequence of Lord Sempil's, and your letters to me of the 5th and 6th, and of what I wrote last post to Lord Sempil, you will find inclosed a letter apart written in my own hand. I take extreme kindly of you, and as a particular mark of your zeal, the offer you make me of going over at this time into England, and I willingly accept the offer, because I consider it as what may be of great importance to my cause to give the discontented whigs an opportunity, especially at this juncture. My letter apart, and what I writ in my last letter, will afford you ample matter of discourse with Mr Erskine on that head, and, if those gentlemen are capable of ever becoming friends to my cause, I should think the present position of affairs at home and abroad, and the assurances given in my two last letters, should remove all their doubts, and induce them to act for it without delay. You will say, in particular, all that is kind and encouraging from me to Mr Erskine, who will, I am persuaded, do what he can to serve me on the occasion. The first and general object, in this affair, is the gaining of those gentlemen. If we fail in it, we are but where we were, and we risque nothing in the tryal. If they hearken to us, we must proceed with them with proper caution, and according to the overtures they make; and in case they express a sincere desire of contributing to my restoration, and own an impossibility of its being compassed without foreign assistance; in that case it may be proposed to them to make application for it to Cardinal Fleury, for that is not a proposal to be made, but to persons who have sincerely my restoration at heart; and, I am persuaded, that should such application be made by them, it would absolutely determine the Cardinal's resolution. When you have received this packet, you will be thinking, I suppose, of going to London to meet Mr Erskine. I can give you no precise directions as to the time of your staying there, nor any particular instructions as to your negotiations with him. You see the object, and nothing must be neglected to attain it. My own letters sufficiently explain my sentiments, so that your chief business must be, to be well informed of the sentiments of those persons; and then to make a faithful

and exact report of all to me as soon as you can do it with safety. It is possible, you may, on this occasion, hear discourses, or have proposals made to you, which you may think in some measure extravagant, or even injurious to me; but you may, on such occasions, moderate the warmth of your zeal, and say nothing which may rebute or hinder people from speaking freely; and after that hide nothing from me, because, if we do not draw from this negociation all the advantage we hope for, it may be always of use, and perhaps of great use to be informed of the party's real dispositions and way of thinking. What I take to be of importance in this negociation, in all events, is the secrecy of it. There is no use of its being known to any in Scotland, and it might be of very ill consequence were it even suspected by other persons in England than those immediately concerned; and you will, at the same time, be particularly cautious not to put any of my old friends in England or Scotland in the power of those we now hope to gain. You will receive from Lord Sempil 2000 livres for your journey; and I dont remember I have any thing further to add at present on these subjects. I make no doubt but that you will do your best to serve me on this important occasion, by which you will gain a new and very great merit with me, whatever may be the success of your endeavours.

* No. XII.

Letter from Lord John Drummond, under the signature of "J. Donaldson," to James Edgar, Esq., private Secretary to the Chevalier de St George.

PARIS, 2d Feb. 1743.

SIR,—I receiv'd somme days ago the letter you favour'd me with, and nothing can be more agreeable to me the goodness with which His Majesty is pleas'd to inform me by you of the continuation of that Royal Protection, which I owe is the thing in the world I am the vainest of.

It gives me great satisfaction that the affair of the Sc—— [Scots] clergy is finished, and I der say it will tourn to the advantage of the King's interest in that country.

As to the Dukes Highland clothes, it vexes me verry much that His Royal Highness cannot get them this Carnaval. It is Mr Walker's fault: Some time ago, most of the things directed to him were sent to St Denis; but he conceived the difficulty so great of getting them to Paris, that he sent them all back to Boulogne, from whence they will come again by the first occasion.

I receiv'd yesterday the letter, here inclosed, from Lord W——, by which, it is very plaine, he has understood me; but according to what I had writ to him, he should have come directly himself; may be because of the C—— indisposition, or for some other reason, he has been afraid of alteration, and is desirous of a second positive invitation, which I sent him by the last post, in consert with Mr O'brien, to whom I show'd his letter.

I have found the little Pituers, [pictures] Abbé Grant was in paine about. Mr Waters had sent them to his neveu, to whom I have since thought of inquiring about them.

I have not yet seen C. T——,* who am more than can be expressed,

Sir,

Your most humble and obedient servant,

J. DONALDSON

* Cardinal Tencin.

* No. XIII.

Letter referred to in the foregoing.

To the Right Honourable Lord John Drummond.

MY LORD,—When your Lordship demanded the sum of money, I am indebted to you last, I had laid myself out to raise it for you, but was disappointed; but thinking that your Lordship might have occasion for it, and likewise to make matters more easy to myself, I inquired for a friend, and am now pretty well assured of a sufficient sum to answer your demand. I shall be glad to know when your Lordship will have it paid, and to whom, or if you are to receive it yourself.

Your Lordship's most affectionate and obedient humble servant,

WEMYSS.

* No. XIV.

The earl of Wemyss appears from the following letter to have gone to the Continent, in consequence, it would seem, of the invitation from Lord John Drummond. The original letter, which is in James's own hand-writing, is inclosed in an envelope addressed E. W. with a flying seal attached to it. It is probable that it was sent to Colonel O'Bryan, who was James's minister at Paris at the time, and that it was returned to him, in consequence of the earl's departure from France.

ALBANO, June 12th, 1743.

I JUST learn your being arrived on this side of the sea, and not knowing how long you may remain in France, I wont delay expressing to you how much I am touched with this mark of your zeal in this critical juncture: what comes from you cannot but make deep impression, and I am very sure you will neglect nothing which may depend on you to forward my interest, where I suppose this will find you. I shall never constrain my friends in the choice of their confidants, but as I understand L—d J—n has directed you to Mr Obryen, as it was natural for him to do, it is fit I should let you know that you will be very safe in his hands, and that nobody is more capable than he to give you such lights as may make your present journey of real service to me. Till I hear from you I shall not enter into any business here, and only add the assurances of most sincere value and kindness for you.

JAMES R.

When you see your son, with whom I am acquainted, and whom I esteem, make him very kind compliments from me. I hope the time is not far off, in which I may be able to give you and your family distinguished marks of my favour

* No. XV.

Letter from Lord John Drummond, under the signature of "J. Donaldson," to Secretary Edgar, reflecting on the conduct of Drummond of Bochaldu.

PARIS, 25th Feb., 1743.

SIR,—I send you here inclosed, a letter I received two days ago from L^d. M——, which wants no explanation : he has not desired me to send it, and is above making compliments. At the same time, I must speak of a thing I should have mentioned sooner, had it not been for a sort of pettiness, of which I am now much ashamed. It was a fear to be suspected of jealousy, and of what of all things I was resolved to avoid falling into little quarrels about an affair where union is so necessary. What I have to say, you will easily imagine is against B——,* who is my L^d. S——'s† principal intelligencer in Sc——.‡ At his first coming over, I knew not how B—— got himself employed by other people, but my brother by telling there was a positive order his going to France, when my B—— said he intended to weigh till he had an answer by me. Soon after, he came back to Sc—— as ambassador from the K——, where he saw two or three people, and returned Plenipotentiary for the whole nation, settled as such at Paris, where under a supposed name,§ tho' known to every (one) for a mysterious incognito, he was to appear on proper occasions. At that time, if affairs had gone on, I dare say more than what he had promised would have turned out, and there would have been no inconvenience ; but the continuation of it has been of ill consequence for the country, where, before I returned, all this was tolerably well known, and in several occasions I was obliged to take his part, and did it so much as if he had been of (my) own choosing, and that we had been in very good understanding, whereas, I have not seen him since he is a negotiator. Most of the K(ing's) friends I meet within S(cotland) speak against him, and desired most positively that I should inform the K(ing) from them, that B(ochaldu) having always been in low life, he trayed several different Trades without success, and obliged to fly the country in danger of being taken up for a Fifty pound note, he had now for a recourse taken the management of the K(ing's) affairs. All this little and low scandal I would not have mentioned, but think myself obliged now to a general confession.

After having said all I could in his defence, I told them that the K(ing) was obliged to receive all those that were sent with messages, and in the most prudent manner made a proper use of them. They insisted that what little good he might have done was strongly balanced by the handle it has given to the K(ing's) enemies, to turn his affairs into ridicule : at first the Gover : P—— said they would take up B(ochaldu) as soon as he returned—a little while after it was given out that far from that they were very well pleased he was employed, since it showed what his M(ajesty's) affairs were reduced to—after that they gave to understand that they furnished him with money. You cannot imagine how such stories spread and frighten in a country where they know nothing. As I am persuaded of your prudence and depend upon your friendship, of this long libel communicate to the K(ing) only what you think proper. But what I would most humbly propose, is, that all we petty politicians should be entirely

* Bochaldu. † Lord Sempil's. ‡ Scotland.

§ Drummond in his correspondence first assumed the name of Jo: Cunningham, which he afterwards changed to Watson.

layd aside, who will do more harme than good, and now that my L(ord) M(arischal) is so well in the way, he should be ordered to settle a correspondence with S(cotland,) or at least have the name of it, for tho L(ord) S(empil) by his words and letters seems to pretend ther ar great things a-bruing in S(cotland,) I do not believe it, nor can be till it commes to an essentiall undertaking. By my L(ord) M(arischal) apearing immediatly imployed, would give such a credit to affairs in S(cotland,) as would be above all suspition from his M(ajesty's) friends, and all aspersion from his enemies. It would bring in several people that will deal with nobody else, and pout things in such a channel, as when real business comes, it should go on without any manner of inconveniency.

I have the honor to be,

Sir,

Your most humble and obedient servant,

J. DONALDSON.*

No. XVI.

Answer to the foregoing Letter, from the original draught, corrected by the Chevalier de St George himself.

ROME, March 21st, 1743.

MY LORD,—I received, last week, your Lordship's, of the 25th February, with one inclosed in it, which I here return to you. It has long been a subject of no small concern to me, and even to the King himself, to see so little union and harmony amongst those who wished him well, and were even employed in his affairs; but that is an evil which can only be remedied by the persons themselves, and towards which his Majesty can give little assistance. His Majesty has made it a rule to himself, never to impose any body on the confidence of those who have their all at stake, nor to refuse on t'other side hearing and confiding, in as much as is requisite, those who may be employed by them, keeping the whole in his own breast, without imparting to one set of friends what may come from another, except with their consent, or in cases of necessity: he will be thus better informed of what relates to his own interest, by the encouragement it must give to his friends, to open their minds freely to him, while they themselves cannot but be pleased with his condescension towards them, and the caution and secrecy observed in what relates to them. So that while his Majesty alone knows the whole, it is impossible for others to form a right judgment on matters they are in reality ignorant of; and H. M. thinks it a less evil to let people talk as you say they do, and even find fault at random, than to put into too many hands secrets and particulars which he thinks himself obliged in

* The Chevalier de St George, writing to Lord Drummond on 22d Dec., 1744, in answer to a letter from his Lordship of 22d October, not to be found among the Stuart Papers, thus deprecates the dissensions among his friends in France. "In the meantime, for God's sake, let us stifle as much as possible all little views and animosities. Let us have nothing in view but the common good, and let every one join heart and hand to promote it in our different capacities. This will be the most effectual way to encourage foreign powers to assist us, and to animate our friends at home to act their part also."—*Stuart papers*.

honour not to disclose. Enfin, your Lordship may be perfectly at ease on the subject of the greatest part of your letter. I am heartily sorry there should be any coldness betwixt Lord Marischal and Lord Sempil. There was, I know, formerly a great intimacy betwixt them. I am well acquainted with the great esteem and attachment Lord Sempil had for Lord Marischal, and I think I could answer for Lord Sempil, that he is noways altered towards him. If after this, Lord Sempil has writ any thing that displeases Lord Marischal, it has, I am persuaded, proceeded from a pardonable, but perhaps unjust solicitude, to keep up their former friendship, and noways out of want of true regard and concern for Lord Marischal, for whom I know the King has the greatest value, and both has and will take all occasions of showing it.

As I think it my duty to communicate to H. M. all that comes to my hands, any ways relating to his affairs, I laid your letter before him, and had his orders to make you this reply, which, when you have considered, you will find it answers all your letter, and H. M. also orders me to add here his kind compliments, and how truly sensible he is of your zeal for his service.

I am, &c.

No. XVII.

“Copy of my Lord Marischal’s Letter to Lord John Drummond, the original returned to Lord John, 21st March, 1743.” This quotation on the copy is in Edgar’s hand-writing.

BOULOGNE, Feb. 12th, 1743.

I HAVE the honor of your obliging letter, and beg you do me the justice to be well assured of my sincere esteem, friendship, and attachment. I think I see in you an Uncle whom I loved and respected for his great honor, and a Brother who is dear to me, for you are like both. Let us give over compliments, and when we write to other, shorten as much as we can our letters, for neither of us love scribbling. I must tell you I have had three days ago a pretty odd one from Lord Sempil. There are two points in it which I must tell you. One that his Lordship is pleased to tell me, that my not having sent by him a message to certain folks in Scotland, and not having learned from him what I already know from the King, may make them think that I have little curiosity on a subject, which, above all others, they have most at heart, and that I slight them, and that the measures they have taken, tho’ they have omitted nothing on their part, to prove the esteem they have of me. To this accusation or threatening of his Lordship, for I think it looks like both, I have answered, that he may remember that I told him in Paris the King had done me the honor to inform me fully of the affair, and to which his Lordship could add nothing: and that I did flatter myself, that notwithstanding his Lordship’s kind fears, people would still do me justice to believe that I have more than bare curiosity, on a subject where the interest of my King and country is so nearly concerned, (not to speak of my own,) where I see a noble spirit, and where I am sensible a great deal of honour is done me, and I add, that I still hope those gentlemen will do me the honour and justice to believe that I shall never fail either in my duty to my King and country, my gratitude to them for their good opinion, or in my best endeavours to serve.

The next point of his letter I shall trouble you with is, concerning my being here. I shall give you his words, not being so long as his other chapter. He

says that my being here has already made a great noise amongst the King's subjects on this side of the water, and adds, "*I can't but own to your Lordship, that as surmises are easily spread, so I fear your being so near the coast, at this time, may occasion some speculations on t'other side also, which would both raise the jealousy of the government and the terrors of our friends, who are but too susceptible of alarms.*" The meaning of this to be that his Lordship will try ways and means to oblige me to remove, for reasons known to himself.

Yours, adieu.

* No. XVIII.

*Lady Sandwich to the Chevalier de St George, without date, but quoted
"Received May 12th, 1743."*

SIR,—MY heart is penetrated with gratitude and joy, to find that I still have the honour to remaine in the remembrance of my sovereign. I can with truth profess that the earliest, as well as the strongest, affection of my mind, ever since I have been capable of reason, has been your Majesty's prosperity and happiness, and 'tis that alone, Sir, I am very well convinced, can prevent the ruin of a country that is dear to me, but which I will never inhabit till it is under your government and protection. Permit me, Sir, humbly to offer my unbounded duty to your Majestyes servise, and as wisdom can often produce something usefull out of the weakest subjects, perhaps I should gain some strength, if your Majesty honoured me with the smallest of his commands. I cannot refrain from expressing the great satisfaction I have in my acquaintance with Lord Semple; his sagacity, penetration, and integrity, are employed in your Majestyes servise, with so much vigilance and prudence, that I cannot make a better wish, than that all who have the honour to be employed in your Majestyes affaires, may be indowed with such qualites as he possesses; and that success may attend upon all your desires, is the perpetual prayer of

Your Majestyes

Most obedient subject and servant,

E. SANDWICH.

No. XIX.

The answer.

ROME, May 15th, 1743.

MY sincere value for you makes acceptable all that comes from you, and in particular the hearty letter you now write to me. I want, I can assure you, no new expressions to convince me of the sincerity of your zeal and affection for my present cause, tho' I much desire occasions of shewing you how truly sensible I am of them. It will be always a satisfaction to me to know that Lord Sempil, or any others concerned in my affairs, should have a share in the esteem of so good a judge as you. I remark, you have no thoughts of returning as yet, to a country not less dear to me than to you; but I hope we shall meet there one day, tho' in all places my sincere kindness will always attend you.

No. XX.

Letter.—The Chevalier de St George, to the Duke of Ormond.

ROME, Dec. 23d, 1743.

I REALLY cannot tell myself when this may be delivered to you, because you will receive it only at the time when all is ready for the execution of the enterprise. The King of France is resolved to undertake in my favour. His Majesty required so great and strict a secret in the affair, that I was not at liberty to mention any thing of it to you before. He will take care you should have all proper lights and instructions, and I have only time to tell you that the affair has been concerted with people in England, and that your old friends have a great share in it; and I hope you yourself will be in a condition to perform that great part which I have all along designed for you. You have already by you a Commission of Regency, in virtue of which you will act, untill such time as the Prince may joyn the expedition, and then you will remain General under him; for it is absolutely impossible for me to joyn the expedition at first, and I cannot even be sure whether the prince will be able to arrive in time. Whenever he does, you will, to be sure, be of all the help and assistance to him that lyes in your power; and before his arrival, as I conclude, that you will, in all matters of importance, act with the counsel and advice of some of our principal friends. I must particularly recommend to you, for that effect, the following persons, vizt. (the names which follow are in the Chevalier's own hand, in the original copy,)—The Duke of Beaufort, the Earls of Barrymore and Orrery, Sir Watkin Williams Wynne, Sir John Hind Cotton, and Sir Robert Abdy, and also the Earl of Westmoreland, and Lord Cobham. It will be, I think, proper when it is time, that you, Lord Derwentwater, and any others in France, whose presence and assistance you may judge to be of use, that they attend or follow you into England.

No. XXI.

A Letter was written to Lord Marischal of same date, and in almost the same terms. It concludes thus.

I CAN give you no other directions, but to follow those of H. M. C. M. who intends to send you into Scotland with some small assistance, to back and support the expedition in England. I doubt not of the zeal and alacrity with which you will perform your part on that great occasion; and when you arrive in Scotland, you will take upon you the command which has been so long designed for you, according to the commission of General you have lying by you. When you arrive there, you will, I am sure, act to the utmost of your power for the good of my service; and as you will, doubtlessly, act by the advice and assistance of some of our principal friends, I recommend to you, in particular, for that effect, the Duke of Perth, the Lord Lovat, Sir James Campbell of Auchinbreak, and Mr Cameron of Lochyel, younger, for the Highlands, and the Earl of Traquair, and the Earl of Aberdeen, if he should joyn, for the Lowlands.

* No. XXII.

TO OUR UNIVERSITIES OF OXFORD AND CAMBRIDGE, GREETING.

JAMES R.

As you have particularly suffered, and been discountenanced under an usurped and unjust Government, we cannot doubt of the satisfaction you will receive from the attempt we are now going to make.

We herewith send you a copy of our Gracious Declaration to all our loving subjects on this occasion, by which you will plainly see how different our sentiments are, from what our enemies have maliciously represented them to be.

We are sensible, you are the chief ornament and support of the Church of England; and, by the promise we have made to protect, support, and maintain it, we shall consider ourselves as particularly engaged to favour and protect you in all your rights and privileges, and we shall be ever ready to extend and enlarge them on proper occasions.

You cannot but be sensible, that the disposal of the First Fruits and Tenths for the benefit of the poorer clergy, had its rise from a former promise of our own, which may be an earnest to you of our favorable dispositions towards you and the whole body of the clergy.

We are thoroughly convinced, how much the solid learning of your two famous bodies contributes to the support of the Government, and honor of the nation; and we shall be always ready to concur with you in your constant endeavours to suppress the present general corruption of manners, and spirit of irreligion, equally destructive to Church and State.

The manifold motives, we shall have to give you constant proofs of our esteem and affection, and the certain prospect you have of being happy under our Government, will, we are persuaded, induce you to contribute as far as in you lies, to the success of this enterprise, by your example, authority, preaching, and prayers, since nothing can be more suitable, nor so honourable for persons of your profession as to promote so great a work of justice, and to provide so effectually for the publick peace and tranquillity; and in the meantime we recommend you to the divine protection. Given at our Court at Rome, the 23d day of December, 1743. In the 43d year of our reign.

J. R.

No. XXIII.

Extracts from the Letters of correspondence, between the Chevalier de St George and Mr Sempil, his agent at Paris, from January to June, 1745, both inclusive.

NOTE.—The extracts from Sempil's letters are from the originals among the Stuart papers; those from the Chevalier's, are taken from the original copies in the same collection.

From the Chevalier, 1st and 5th January.

THE only good things they [letters] contain were the accounts you had from England: it is a great point that there is no alteration there. I wish I were sure it was the same with the Court of France; but, I own, I begin to have

my fears and jealousies as to them, and I see you are not without them either ; but still I dont really see how they can patch up a peace this winter, and as long as there is war we shall always have reason to hope well. It is very true that I have been all along against an expedition upon Scotland alone, or rather, in general, against any faint attempt, the consequences of which might be more fatal to the cause than the not attempting any thing at all ; neither do I see, why the French should not be able to transport the same number of troops into England, as they might be willing to send into Scotland. But still as they are masters to act in those matters as they please, did they actually refuse to debark troops into England, but were willing to debark a competent number in Scotland, I should be sorry that any thing I said or did could authorise an absolute refusal of such a proposal ; for should peace be concluded without any thing being undertaken in our favour, it is easy to see what would be the consequences. But really in my present situation, at this distance, it is impossible for me to form a judgment of what should or should not be accepted of. All I can say is, that in general, no rash project should be pursued, especially considering the present disposition and situation of affairs in Brittain, which may afford us a favorable prospect ere long, independant of foreign assistance, while, at the same time, that same disposition and situation of our country may encourage us now to accept of a smaller assistance, than would otherways be advisable. Enfin, as matters now stand, I think it is better to risque too much than too little, if the medium account be fallen again, and what depends upon a number of lights and circumstances, of which those on the spot can only judge : It is the Prince, therefore, who must decide for himself, and for us all in the present case. He had, to be sure, good reasons for making you delay for some days, renewing your application on these great affairs to the Court of France, and the agitation, I am afraid, the Court was in at that time, was not certainly a favorable moment to solicit business of any kind, much less an affair of that importance ; but to be sure, long before this, they will have heard and considered all that relates to us, and probably have taken their resolutions in those respects. God grant they may have been good ones. I shall be expecting them, every post, with impatience.

From Sempil,—4th January.

THE account of Credon's * behaviour will surprise you, as indeed it has done me, who have been witness of it for some time past : he is the boldest adventurer I ever yet knew or heard of. But I have not now time to entertain you on such an extraordinary subject : there seems to be a spirit of giddiness which has seized a number of [here follows some cyphers] : it is a great comfort, amidst such dissensions, to find that our friends in Bourdeaux † have preserved their senses.

From the Chevalier,—26th January.

I RECEIVED, several weeks ago, several letters from M^e. de Mezieres, but writ in so extraordinary a style that I could not in any decency, so much as acknowledge the receipt of them. I see you are no more in her good graces, and as for the Prince, he writes of them in a manner which I own raised my bile ; but she is a mad woman, and not to be minded : what vexes me is, that I find Father Cruise was going into England, in the beginning of November last, in consequence of a message from Carte ;‡ and I own this last, and the Lady's itch to

* Sir Thomas Sheridan.

† Supposed to mean England.

‡ The Historian.

meddle in politics, without I fear proper caution or prudence, and I am sure, without my authority, may be of ill consequence, altho' what I know of their dealings is very superficial and general. I thought it was proper you should be informed of this much, and that I had no share in these transactions. You have taken up yours, to be sure, long before this, and I shall be both anxious and impatient to know the success of them ; for surely the French Court must come to some resolution as to our affairs.

From the Chevalier,—2d February.

BALHADY's accounts from England are very comfortable. I am sorry there should be any interruption in the correspondence with Scotland ; but I dont take that to be of such consequence at this time, since it is what relates to England that will chiefly determine the resolutions of the French Court. The great and unforeseen event of the Emperor's * death, must alter all their schemes and projects : it should naturally facilitate a peace, but at the same time it puts it more in their power to make a vigorous attempt in our favor, and to deprive the House of Austria of their greatest support ; and if they have a generous and right way of thinking, even for themselves, one may hope they should be desirous to make such a tryal, before they enter into pacific measures : a few weeks will, probably, now show what they will do. In the meantime, I perceive the Prince was going into the country. I understand, the Court of France had rather he had gone to Avignon ; but he is much in the right not to quit his hold as long as he can, tho' the truth is they use him scandalously ; but as long as there is war we may still have hopes for the great affair, and, therefore, we must submit to any thing, rather than do what might look like abandoning our object. I am much pleased to find you were going to reassume again your negotiations ; for which, after all the great affairs which have passed through your hands, I really dont see you want credentials at present from any of us. The continuation of your correspondence with our friends in Britain is what will always give you access to the ministers, and weigh with them ; and, I am persuaded, you will be more considered by them, as being employed by my friends, than if you were more immediately by me. You cannot wonder at Cardinal Tencin's being much offended at you, for he has too much penetration not to see that our English friends could never have taken so false a step, as that of excluding him from their secret, if they had not been led into it ; for had the reserve come from the King of France himself, he had, undoubtedly, rather sent him to his Bishoprick, than have kept him in his council without his confidence. After this, how great the Cardinal's credit is with the King, is more than I can say, but, if he has little, who has more ? for it is certainly our business to apply to those who may most effectually serve us, whoever they may be.

From the Chevalier,—23d February.

THE King of France having approved of my employing Mr O'bryen, as formerly, at his Court, I now write to Marquis d'Argenson, to introduce you to him, and you will find here also a letter to the same minister with a flying seal for you to deliver to him. You may remember that I writ such letters, formerly, to introduce both of you to Mr d'Amelot, so that what is now done is pursuing the same scheme, which, I know, is agreeable to the King of France. The letter I now send you answers, I think, pretty fully what you seemed to desire in that respect, tho' after that the access and credit you will have at the

* Charles the Seventh.

Court of France will always be proportioned to the informations you can give them from our friends in Britain, and I am always more and more convinced, that the more you are considered as their man the more your negotiations will meet with weight and success. . . . In the meantime it grieves me to see so much jealousy, and so little union amongst all our people,—that is indeed a great drawback to the success of our affairs, and an evil which, I am sensible, I cannot remedy, especially now that it is become almost universal ; but I can, at least, by my silence, not promote it ; for though it is fit I should know every thing, yet I shall carefully avoid giving credit to all I hear, or entering in these tracasseries.

From the Chevalier,—2d March.

I AM, with reason, very anxious as to what relates to the security of our Correspondent of the Post-office, both on his own account, and because of the bad consequences it would be to be deprived of that channel of correspondence ; but I will still hope the best, till I see clearer into the bottom of this affair, because I don't think there is reason to fear there could be any treachery in the case, and there could be no room for indiscretion ; but in so far as particulars relating to that correspondence may have been known to others, of which last you can judge better than I, but even that may be without either treachery or indiscretion. The Government may have taken such steps and precautions as may give a just motive of jealousy to the person concerned, and make him think they know more than they really do. I hope a few weeks now will shew me clearly what we may have to expect from the French for this season ; but I own at the same time, my hopes are not very great, because, I think, comparing all circumstances together, that the French had not that forwardness you seemed to think some time ago, in relation to my affairs. Civil words and expressions cost little, and I am affrayed, instead of growing colder now, they were never so warm as you thought them, and I am persuaded we have lost nothing but the interruption of your solicitations, tho' I am heartily glad they are re-assumed, and I am sure you will not slacken in them, whatever may be the conduct of others ; but you must neither of you drive things too far, and you should not be displeased at my having a better opinion of you all, than you seem to have of one another. I remark, that I may expect, next post, a sort of appendix to Balhady's letter.

From the Chevalier,—8th March.

WHAT has happened in relation to our English correspondence is very unlucky, especially at this time. . . . I easily feel the advantage of Balhady's going over in this juncture, as well as the dangers and inconveniences of such a motion, as to which Balhady will, to be sure, have taken his resolution before you receive this. . . . In the meantime, I am glad to find you have still good hopes, tho' I own I don't see on what they are grounded, more than on the present posture of French affairs, and the good disposition in which you suppose the King of France to be in towards us ; and therefore it is our business, certainly, to acquiesce in all particulars, to what may be his inclination and desire, tho' I own, at the same time, that I cannot see a good reason of this incognito of the Princes, but for that there is no remedy at present. I wish he were, at least in the meantime, free from the uneasiness he cannot but receive from the continual jarrings amongst ourselves ; and in which I neither see end nor remedy, neither can there be any as long as every one, without either a proper subordi-

nation or a due bearing of one another's failings, without which nothing but enmities and confusion can ensue, while ourselves and our affairs become a sacrifice to envy, and private views pursued with so much passion and blindness, as not to see that by ruining us and our affairs, they make it yet more impossible that those very passions should be satisfied, they are so violent to gratify. But too much on this disagreeable subject, which affects me too much, and on which it is very useless for me to enlarge.

From the Chevalier,—10th March.

I AM very glad to understand that there appears to be some hopes of the English correspondence being renewed, tho' the interruption of it is still a misfortune. Pray God all these people going backward and forward betwixt Britain and France, and with so little secrecy, may not be some time or another of very bad consequence; but neither the Prince nor I can answer for other people's indiscretion, or even totally prevent them, tho' we may too probably suffer by them. . . . I own I have no great opinion of the manner in which business is carried on in the Court of France, and much fear that such a system cannot well produce great projects, without there were a good head and a steady hand to direct all those ministers who have power enough to distress one another, tho' not probably to do all they please, even in their own departments. . . . I own my hopes of your speedy success are not at present very great. It is to be hoped they will at least allow the Prince to make a campaign; and really it would be something very extraordinary, as well as hard upon us, if they did not.

From Sempil,—15th March.

YOUR observation regarding the influence of the King's friends in England and Scotland, is but too just; for tho' the French Court, and most particularly the King, have a respect for your royal person and character, yet would hardly determine to enter into measures with your Majesty, unless they were sure of the concurrence of your faithful subjects in Great Britain. In the present situation it was necessary to prove that there is a perfect understanding between your Majesty and your faithful subjects, and that you approved of the persons trusted by them, which your letter (that of 3d Feb.) effectually does in relation to me, and is more than sufficient to confute all the pitiful notions that have been suggested.

The Duke of Perth's messenger, whom I mentioned in my last, being unwilling to return without something, and getting no satisfaction from Sir Thomas Sheridan, to whom the Prince referred him, came at last to Balhady and me, and imparted to us the true object of his journey, which was found to be very important; and as Balhady, who has been a long time acquainted with him, answers for his honour and probity, so I thought fit to introduce him to the Minister, to whom I shewed the importance of the Castle of Edinburgh, with the artillery, arms, and ammunition, that are in it. The Minister was greatly pleased, and having made his request to the King, told Mr Blair in his name, that his Majesty was glad to find such remarkable instances of the zeal of your Majesty's good subjects, especially of the Scots—that he apprehended he could not now spare troops for an expedition beyond sea—that such an enterprize ought to have been proposed three months ago, when he could have raised more troops and taken proper measures for it, but that he would still consider what he could do, and hoped the summer would not pass without proofs of his regard for the justice of the King's cause, and the confidence your faithful sub-

jects reposed in him. Mr Blair promised to apprise of all this the Prince; for tho' his Royal Highness has been near a month in town, neither Balhady nor I have been allowed the honour of kissing his hand till this day, when I received a message from Balhady, importing that Captain Stuart of the Royal Scots having accidentally met with Sir Thomas, the last had desired him (Stuart) to find us out, and let us know from him, that the Prince who intended to go out of town, as to-morrow, desired our company to-day at dinner. Balhady's messenger arrived here (Versailles) too late for me to get to town at the time appointed, and I have an engagement this evening at seven o'clock, to converse with the Minister, both which circumstances I prayed Balhady to apprise the Prince of, and hope he will pardon my absence.

From Sempil,—22d March.

THERE is a state of getting an expedition secretly resolved upon, and prepared as part of the scheme of the campaign, but I insist on their fixing it for the month of May. I know not as yet whether or no it will be possible to get it determined for the time I propose, because the minister of the war has all in readiness for a siege of importance in Flanders, which the King of France longs to undertake: if it is blended with the operations of the campaign, I shall fear some unlucky accident may postpone it as last year. . . . As to our private correspondent, it is certain that the Government have been informed of our correspondence through a Banker in Holland, with one Smart, upon which very strict injunctions were given, and all means used to intercept our letters. I told you that I could not suspect any body of direct treachery in this case, but sure I am that there has been indiscretion.

Sir Hector Maclean has communicated to me several of the King's and Mr Edgar's letters, by which I find his Majesty is very desirous to prevent the bad consequences of his being deprived of his rank, that was promised him by Lord John Drummond, upon an agreement between them that was approved of by his Majesty. Tho' I always wav'd meddling in this affair, yet it now stands in such a light, that the respect due to our Sovereign, and the good of his service, require the Knight should be supported in his claim. I am sorry to find Lord John's behaviour has been altogether unworthy of his name and family: he has all along pretended that the French Minister made difficulty to make Sir Hector Lieutenant Colonel, because he had never before served in the army, whereas the contrary is notorious here.

From the Chevalier,—23d March.

THE private correspondent having sent a man over with the letters Balhady transcribes, is a great proof of his zeal, and a mark, I would hope, of his being easier as to his own situation. I remark with pleasure what is said of the gentlemen lately entered into the Government service.* I hope they are sincere in what is now said in their name; but the Court of France will not, I believe, be disposed to think so favorably of them as I do, and will probably insist on having further light and satisfaction before they act themselves; and, I think I plainly see, that there is nothing in our power which can really give them full satisfaction, if they still insist on certain previous steps before an expedition, and that they will never do any thing for us at all, without they take a gener-

* The letter of 1st March, to which this is an answer, does not appear to be among the Stuart papers. James here alludes to the coalition or "broad bottom" ministry, of which the earl of Chesterfield, Lord Cobham, and Sir John Hynd Cotton were members.

ous, and, I really dont think, a rash resolution to proceed on the lights they already have, and what is publick to all the world, the present universal disposition of the nation. I think their insisting on more, is no mark of their having a great inclination to act for us ; for, after all, their risking 8, or 10,000 men cannot be such an object to them. A battle or a siege often costs more, and I believe their loss in Piedmont last year, was much more considerable. But with all this it is still our business to represent and solicit, and at least to do our part to determine them to what is even in reality for their own interest ; and, at same time, nothing ought to be neglected towards inducing them to allow the Prince to make a campaign : all motives concur to make both him and I earnestly wish he may obtain leave for that effect. . . . I remark what Balhady says of our friends not caring to trust a priest, who was lately in England. This must mean Father Cruise who is lately returned from thence, and has been of late very busy with the Court of France, as well as M^e. de Mezieres. I wish no harm may come from their negotiations, tho' I own I expect no good from them, and I have let the Father know that I can neither approve nor authorise negotiations, into which I don't see quite clear. I hope and believe the French court will be cautious in what they may do on the Father's representations, without they know more of those affairs than I do ; for by what I know or can observe hitherto, I believe there are no people of a certain weight and consideration in England concerned in them, but Colonel Cecil, with Carte, and Mrs Oglethorp.

From the Chevalier,—30th March.

I AM sorry to remark the subjects of uneasiness you explain in it, (letter of 8th March,*) and on which I shall write to the Prince in a manner of which I hope you will feel the good effects. You will do well to write freely to me on such subjects, and I shall endeavour to make the best use of the lights you give me, tho' you must not expect that I should much enlarge on such matters with you ; for tho' I am the Prince's father, and that he is a most dutiful and affectionate son, yet, in my present situation, it is for our mutual interest and service that I myself should on many occasions carry myself in what relates to him, in some measure as I wish my subjects carried towards me.

From Sempil,—5th April.

THE minister told me yesterday that it would be impossible to get troops for our expedition before the opening of the campaign, or even during the first operations of it. However, he desires I may converse fully with his brother upon the matter, and they will consider together what can be done. I have accordingly attended the minister of war these days past, but his hurry is such that he cannot give me a proper opportunity.

The duke of Beaufort's death is a great loss to your majesty ; but I am persuaded nothing will shake the firmness of your surviving friends. . . . Your majesty has a right notion of the present posture of the French ministry, who are all jealous of each other, and, on that account, more circumspect and timorous in pressing even the affairs of their own respective departments, than they would otherwise be.

From the Chevalier,—6th April.

I REMARK what is said of the person lately from Scotland. (Vide Sempil's

* Not in the collection. See the letter of the Chevalier to the Prince of 30th March, No. XXXI. which explains the cause of disagreement.

letter of 15th March.) You did well to carry him to M. D'Argenson, for such messages are still of some encouragement. . . . The Prince had already writ to me about the article of the broad-swords, upon which I think Balhady reasons very justly: after that in general, as I have writ to the Prince, I am absolutely unable at this time to be at such sort of expenses,—and even much smaller ones than that, which would be of more concern to me, were I not persuaded that the French court on one side, and our friends in England on t'other, will not allow the cause to be starved, if they are really zealous and hearty in it; and if they are not, any small expenses I might be to forward it would signify nothing.

From Sempil,—12th April.

YOUR majesty judges perfectly right as to a certain priest, (Cruise,) and those in relation with M^r. de Mezieres. Neither Cecil nor Carte, tho' authorised by Lord Marischal, Smith, and probably the duke of Ormond, have been able to acquire any degree of trust among dealers of a certain weight and consideration. Drummond had last year a list of 38 persons, most of them very honest, who seemed to be deluded by these people's singular assurance, but Walker found it of no manner of consequence to undeceive them. On the contrary, it was best to allow them to go on, because both Sir R. Walpole and Lord Islay were apprised of all their motions, and seemed to believe the King had no other correspondents.

From the Chevalier,—13th April.

I AM persuaded you have done, and will do your best, to determine the court of France to an expedition in our favor, and to hasten the execution of it. But I own, I dont see any particular motive to hope for your succeeding, more than the general posture of affairs at this time, and what is so manifestly the interest of France: for after that, as long as there is a war, the ministers to be sure will always give you good words, and there may be many plans and projects made for an expedition, without these ever being executed; so that for all you succeeded so well the last time, I shall not easily flatter myself of your succeeding again another time so well, tho' I shall not, either, let myself be too much discouraged by what I may hear from other people, since nobody can form a judgment of what they may be ignorant of. It is always good I should be informed of every thing, but except what you may think proper to write to me or Edgar on the subject of our unhappy tracassaries, the less these matters are stirred in or talked of the better; and yet I see with concern that everybody will be criticising and meddling in matters which are none of their business, and on which they cannot form a judgment, by which they certainly do a real and great prejudice to the cause, which every body may hurt by their indiscretion, but few can forward by their immediate assistance. What occasions my saying this at present is, what I have had occasion to know lately of a certain Lady Clifford, who has been some time in France. I know not whether you are acquainted with her. I suppose she is sincere in the zeal she pretends to have for us, but by what I can remark of her turn and spirit, she is an intriguing woman, capable of doing a great deal of hurt with a good intention. It is true, I wish much Sir Hector Maclean were made lieutenant-colonel to Lord John Drummond's new regiment, and I have done what I could to assist him in his pretensions for that effect, but I much fear I shall not succeed.

From Sempil,—19th April.

I THINK myself obliged to inform your majesty that Sir Thomas Sheridan always possessed his (the Prince's) mind, and that your majesty never had the Prince's confidence so much as that man, who, I fear I am too well assured, has even now the confidence of all your majesty writes to the Prince, and concert with him what H. R. H. is to write to your majesty, tho' he makes the Prince to do it in his own style and manner.

From the same,—25th April.

IN the meantime, it is a most feasible affliction that the King of France will not consent to the Prince's going to the army. The ministers all seem to wish it; the four secretaries of state even promised to give their opinions for it, but their opinions have not been asked; when Marq^s. D'Argenson represented the motives upon which I urged it.

Sir Thomas Sheridan seems capable to go any lengths, and may find encouragement of the most dangerous nature to gratify his ambition if he should accompany the Prince to England in your majesty's absence. I am sure he dares not make a direct intimation to the Prince against his duty, and perhaps is not wicked enough for such an attempt with cool deliberation, but I doubt his passions are greater than his virtues or his reason, and may prompt him to lead by degrees the Prince into very unhappy measures, for which Sir Thomas will find but too many abettors and advisers. Mr Kelly has said some time ago to his confidants, that in a little time they would see your majesty's friends divided into the King's party and the Prince's party. I write thus freely in obedience to your majesty's commands, and am overjoyed that I am authorised to do so, which eases me in some measure of a weight that hung the heavier on my spirits, because I could not venture to own it to your majesty. I think I don't entertain such apprehensions out of suspicion to Sir Thomas. I find several who think of him worse than I do, and have imparted their fears to me.

From the Chevalier,—26th April.

I HAVE no answer from Spain about the Duke's campaign,* and I find the Prince has little or no hopes of obtaining leave for himself to go to the field, for he did not, I suppose, then know what you now mention to me on the subject. . . . I see with sorrow that the Prince still remains at Fitz-James. As for our great affairs, he cannot certainly hope that any thing should be undertaken till after the campaign in Flanders is begun. The right time for an expedition would, I think, be in the months of August or September, but I will not flatter myself as to that, tho' I am persuaded you and Balhady will do your best to bring the French court to some speedy and favorable resolution, tho', if no sort of determination is taken before the King of France goes to the army, I shall much fear that they take my affairs little to heart.

From Sempil,—3d May.

YOUR majesty has great reason to judge, from the present state of the French ministry, that an expedition will not be compassed this season, and yet, by some particular circumstances, there was ground to hope it might. I am sure the King of France inclines it, that Orry and Maurepas favour it, and that the bro-

* James had applied for leave for his second son to attend a campaign in Italy with the Spanish army.

thers D'Argenson consider it as the best foundation for the scheme of greatness they have in view. These dispositions, of which I have been long very certain, and the immediate advantage that must in the present state of things accrue to the French by making a reasonable attempt in your majesty's favor, gave not unreasonable hopes of speedy success. But I have already hinted, in a former letter, at the reason of the delay. The two brothers want to acquire the whole merit of the service, which they found they could not do when the King insisted to have our project examined into, with other schemes of operations ; wherefore the minister of war, who has the chief influence with his majesty, got the enterprise put off for the present, on pretence that the King of France has other immediate and very pressing service for all his troops. Lord Sempil quickly perceived the true motive of this proceeding, but he seemed ignorant of it, and used all manner of argument, both political and military, for an immediate expedition. The two brothers could give no tolerable reason for postponing it, but as there was no prospect of carrying it without them, so I was forced to acquiesce, which the minister of war especially seems to take kindly, and promises all his interest and address to serve your majesty as soon as the necessary operations of the campaign will permit, that is, as soon as his brother and he can determine the King of France, without consulting the other ministers. In the meantime, I think the two brothers really wish the prince were in the army, but the King has expressed himself on that head so strongly, that they protest they cannot urge it in the present moment. . . . I am personally acquainted with Lady Clifford, but have always heard her called a good, tho' a very weak woman. She is sister to the Dutchess of Norfolk, and never seemed to have any expectation of the Restoration, or to take the least concern in it, till the Prince was public in France, but now she expresses great zeal, and I hope very sincerely. Her most assiduous visitors during last winter were Mr Stuart, of Lord John's regiment, and Sir Hector Maclean. She seems to have no particularly intimacy or confidence with any others.

I have told the Marq^s. d'Argenson that your Majesty's friends in Britain call for Balhady, and desired to know what the King of France would authorise Balhady to say to them, upon which Balhady and I are going to-morrow by appointment, to know his Majesty's pleasure. . . . After this Balhady will set out for England with the utmost secrecy, whenever the Prince is pleased to honor him with his commands.

We are informed, that on the 25th of last month, one Macnaughton, Mr Murray's footman, arrived at Boulogne-sur-mer, in a ship from Scotland : this man, who is entirely trusted by Mr Murray, has brought letters to Charles Smith, and says he has a packet for the Prince, by which indiscretion he shews how unworthy he is of the trust reposed in him ; but besides, Mr Blair, who was lately here, assured us he was a very dangerous fellow,—that he boasted publicly among those of his own rank, of his master's high character from your majesty, of his being let into all his master's secrets, and trusted with all his papers ; as a proof of which, he proffered to give the perusal of all these papers to Mr Blair's shoemaker, which last offered to put them in Mr Blair's hands. I hear this Macnaughton is soon expected here by Sir Thomas Sheridan, that he calls himself Douglas, and is treated with great distinction by Mr Smith. I shall not fail to inform the Prince of these circumstances. One can't but wonder at the spirit of giddiness that seems to have run amongst some people.

From the Chevalier,—3d May.

It appears to me pretty plain, that the court of France will not undertake

any thing for us till they have farther information from England, and as I believe it will appear so to you, I conclude Balhady will be parted for England before this reaches you.

From the same,—18th May.

FROM what you say of the Prince's campaign, I own I have lost all hopes of his being allowed to make it, altho' the Marquis d'Argenson encouraged you following the King of France into the field, in hopes of some favorable resolution being taken there, either as to that or in relation to greater matters. As to these last, I fear we can't expect any determination can be taken without some further light and information from England; neither do I see how that can be got in an authentic and satisfactory manner but by Balhady's going over; and yet that is a step I am unwilling positively to direct, because of the many dangers and inconveniencies it cannot but be attended with. If Balhady is not publicly at Paris, I think it might be easy for him to slip away without being missed; and even in all cases, could he not go down to the army with you, from whence he could pursue his journey for England much more privately and unobservedly than from Paris; if he likes the party to go over, I don't see the use of any body's knowing of it except Marquis d'Argenson and myself, neither shall I disapprove your keeping that step secret from all others, without exception. . . . I cannot but hope this odd peace of Bavaria may be a spur to the French to think seriously of my interest; and perhaps more vigorous measures may be pursued from the army, where there will not be so many counsellors, and by consequence so many intrigues and management.

From the same,—24th May.

I FIND, with satisfaction, that Balhady will soon begin his journey for England. You may have remarked how much I wished it, tho' I would not take it absolutely upon me to direct it. . . . The peace of Bavaria, and the great probability there appears to be of the Great Duke's being chosen Emperor, should, methinks, in a manner force the French to think seriously of my interest, as the most effectual way to provide for their own in the present circumstances. It will have been very necessary to inform the Prince of the particulars you mention relating to a person lately come from Scotland.

From the same,—1st June.

As long as I have any thing, the cause must not be starved, and that is really the present case.* The Prince has scarce bread for himself, and the French court was not to be applied to for such an expense; for tho' they certainly should not have grudged it, yet I see but too plainly their narrowness as well as their straits, and even this year I have not received a certain small pension which was given to the Duke upon his mother's death, and which was always used to be paid at the beginning of the year. . . . Our friends in England should consider my present situation, and fall on some method to enable me upon occasions to serve themselves in reality more than me, and I think that this matter should sooner or later be strongly laid before them; for if they sincerely wish my Restoration, and would be willing to venture for it at a proper time, can it be imagined they would not be willing to contribute a trifle on which the success of all may often depend? I am glad to find that both Bal-

* This letter contained an order for 3000 livres on Waters, the Chevalier's banker at Paris, in favour of Sempil, to enable him to follow the French court in Flanders.

hady and you are so well pleased with what the Prince said to you,—a proper subordination of him to me, and of other people to us both, would make every thing go on better and more easily than it has done for some time past. I believe the Prince is sensible how much it imports us to be masters in our own affairs, and I shall be mistaken if he does not act his part for that effect.

From the same,—8th June.

IF this victory (of Fontenoy) be of great consequence to the King of France, I do not take it to be of less to my interest, while the Elector of Hanover sending more troops out of England, and coming in person out of the kingdom himself, are such a continuation of favorable circumstances, as would seem designed by Providence to determine the King of France to act in my favor, so that I own at present I am in great hopes and expectation.

From Sempil,—14th June.

No imaginable situation will determine the ministers to act for you without a concert with your friends in England. The general dispositions of your people make but little impression, while the Government appears so peaceful, and seems to exert the whole strength of your three kingdoms. But the more terrible the Government appears, the more willing the Court of France will always be to assist your Majesty, provided they are made sure, that a great body of your subjects at home are ready to act in conjunction with them. . . . I doubt not but the shameful animosities of last winter, which disgusted the King of France and discouraged our friends in Britain, have contributed to lull the Government into an opinion, that there was nothing to be feared from your Majesty. It must be upon that conviction that the Duke of Hanover has ventured to come abroad, and to order so many troops to be now brought out of Britain. . . . I have just now the satisfaction to receive a letter from Balhady with the news of his safe arrival at London, where he had already seen Lord Traquair, our private correspondent, Lord Barrymore's confidant, and some others; he assures me in general, that there is no alteration in the King's friends, but for the better. Our private correspondent writes a few lines in Balhady's letter, promising to correspond as formerly, especially when he has any thing material to impart. Both this correspondent, Balhady, Lord Traquair and Mr Barry desire to be put at your Majesty's feet, and hope you'll be assur'd of their using their utmost endeavours for your service.

From the Chevalier,—same date.

THERE cannot be two opinions as to your going to the army, which being on my account alone, and absolutely necessary for my service, it is but fit I should be at the expense of it and not you,—the same may be said of Balhady's journey, and therefore on his return, if our friends in England have not defrayed it, I shall.

From Sempil,—21st June.

THE French ministry have not yet got out of the narrow methods prescribed to them by the poor Cardinal Fleury. The minister of the finances especially sticks close to the old maxims of saving, tho' he is sensible that they have often obstructed great affairs, and ruined the most hopeful projects. The King's friends in England think more justly and generously in that regard, but it is very dangerous for them to raise money, because too many persons must be let into the secret. . . . I have had two letters from Balhady in the

course of this week, and one from our private correspondent, by which the last promises to write, and to receive, and transmit our letters as formerly, being satisfied with the channel thro' which Balhady makes them pass in Holland. Balhady has conversed fully with all our city of London friends, with Mr Erskine, Lord Traquair, Lord Barrymore's confidant, our private correspondent, and as many others as are in town. They all agree that your Majesty has at present the best opportunity that ever was, and better than can ever again be expected, to effect your Restoration; if a small body of troops can be landed, they are sure you will find no opposition. The Tories who have places under Government, are as zealous as ever for your Majesty, and as ready to concur in the deliverance of their country, as those who have no places: the only difficulty is to prove this disposition, so as to satisfy the King of France to determine his ministers (the two brothers) to charge themselves with the execution. The King's friends will not venture to write. Balhady says, the whigs in the ministry are so jealous, that a traveller cannot now go about amongst our friends in the country without suspicion and great danger. There is besides the difficulty of transporting troops, while the Government is vastly superior at sea.

From the Chevalier,—22d June.

WE cannot know exactly the view the King of France may have in sending for a great detachment from the Prince of Conti's army, but I take it to be rather a good sign for us, at least comparing all I know together. I make no manner of doubt, but that the King of France is thinking seriously of our affairs, and what the result will be, a little time must now soon show us; but I think it is easy to see that the difficulty of transporting troops into England, will be the chief obstacle to the undertaking an expedition. I am glad to find Balhady was so far safe on his journey. I hope and believe he will be returned on this side of the sea, before Sir Hector Maclean's going to Scotland could possibly make any noise, which I hope it will not, tho' I wish some other expedient could have been fallen upon, to keep him and Lord John Drummond at a distance from one another, which was the chief, if not the only motive of his going thither. It is not impossible but you may stumble on Father Cruise somewhere in your travels in Flanders, for I find he was lately in that country after having been in England. A multiplicity of negotiations may, I fear, rather do hurt than good in our affairs, but as I don't really know nor understand the bottom of this Father's negotiations as they stand at present, I endeavour to avoid equally either disgusting or authorising as the safest and prudentest mode for the good of the cause.

From the same,—28th June.

I THINK it is fit you should know that I have received some farther lights about Father Cruise's negotiations, tho' I have not yet heard directly from him since he returned from England. . . . I have already had a visit from the new French ambassador; he is a man of a very good character, and I believe wishes me very well, but probably I shall not have much occasion to treat with him on publick matters.

From Sempil,—same date.

THE Doctor (Drummond of Balhady) writes, that your good old friend Mr Erskine will soon be preferred to a considerable post in the administration, but he accepts it with the view of being enabled by it to serve the King more effec-

tually : he desires me to assure his Majesty, that he will remain in England or go to Scotland, as the King's service shall at any time require.

From the same,—of same date.

I RECEIVED a long letter from Balhady written in concert with Mr Erskine, Lord Traquair, and Lord Barrymore's cousin and confidant : they represent the Regency in England to be divided, and so diffident of each other, that there is not so much as the appearance of resolution and harmony, or common prudence in their councils. They say our friends in the administration have yielded to all the Duke of Hanover desired, with no other view than to precipitate his ruin, in which they have in a great measure succeeded, both by exasperating the nation so as to make any revolution desirable, and by giving the Duke of Hanover such high spirits upon the opinion of his having overcome all opposition, that he has not only ventured all himself, but has even drawn almost all the troops out of Britain. They remark that the loss of the battle in Flanders has enraged the middle and lower ranks of people, from all which they conclude that there never was, and never can be, such a favourable opportunity to attempt your Majesty's restoration. They assure that if the Prince landed in the present circumstances with ten battallions, or even with a smaller body of troops, there will be no opposition, but, on the contrary, that his royal highness will be received with blessings and acclamations. They affirm this to be the sentiments of all who observe the present state and disposition of things, but upon Balhady's informing our friends, that the same appearances of harmony and unanimity which have imposed on the Duke of Hanover, have rendered the real state of things doubtful at the Court of France, and that some means must be taken to prove to the King of France what we all believe and know to be true : upon this information of Balhady's they considered the case with all possible attention, and judged it impossible to bring any stranger into England at this juncture, and to make him converse with a certain number of principal persons without raising a suspicion that would deprive your Majesty of many advantages, and perhaps ruin your affairs : they judged it equally impossible to get a sufficient number of the King's friends to subscribe any paper : wherefore they thought the best and safest expedient would be, to engage our friends to open themselves to Mareschal de Belleisle, whose letter to his master might attest all that his master desired ; this result Balhady transmitted to me, with an assurance that his friends who have accepted of places as well as those who have not, are willing to confide in Belleisle, provided I can procure a letter or token, upon exhibiting of which he shall trust them : before the King of France went to the army, I had with this view sounded the two brothers regarding Belleisle, and found they did not incline he should be employed in our affairs, because they were ambitious of having the whole merit of it themselves ; but as the success of the King's affairs must depend on the proofs in question, so I hope we might profit of Belleisle's situation without apprising the two brothers of the confidence reposed in him till it should be necessary to produce his attestation ; reflecting therefore that Belleisle's wife has the great honour of being the Prince's relation,—that she is a lady of uncommon abilities, and in the secret of all her husband's affairs, I resolved to ask a token from her that might make Belleisle know our friends. I accordingly caused her Director, a clergyman of great worth, beg leave for me to wait on her in private. She said she had been long desirous to be acquainted with me on account of my attachment to your Majesty, but as she was persuaded that all my motions are watched, so she apprehended that her conversing with me

at present might give the government some suspicion, and perhaps induce them to confine her husband in a way that would be prejudicial to his health. She added, that the same dread of the Government's malice obliged her to deprive herself of the honor and satisfaction of paying her respects to the Prince, and desired her Director to tell me that she conceived I might have great and grand views in desiring to converse with her, but that her husband had engaged his honor to the Government so strictly and solemnly, in order to obtain the degree of liberty he enjoyed, that while he should remain in his present situation he could not be of any service to your Majesty, tho' he burns with zeal for the King's cause, and believes the King's affairs to be in a very promising condition.

This affair detained me till the 26th, when I received another letter from Balhady, in which he informs me, that Sir Hector Maclean is arrived in Scotland, and that upon his arrival Lord Elcho, who had been some time at London, was immediately sent for, and set out accordingly, in all haste, for Scotland, from whence Mr Erskine, Lord Traquair, and Balhady apprehend that something very weak and rash may be attempted, and that some great misfortune will ensue; they are induced to this apprehension by the part John Murray has acted since he returned from hence: Murray said that Sir Thomas Sheridan had told him that Balhady, in concert with Lord Sempil, had brought the Prince hither without the consent or knowledge of the King of France,—that Balhady had kept his royal highness in his own apartment at Paris, without letting the Court of France know where the Prince was,—that he afterwards carried the Prince to Gravelines also without the Court's knowledge, and detained him there several weeks in order to engross the Prince to himself,—that the said Balhady and Sempil had sent Lord Marischal to Dunkirk, without money, arms, or any destination of troops for Scotland;—and lastly, that while Sir James Campbell was neglected, Balhady had extorted for himself a pension of 6000 Livres a-year from your Majesty: all these particulars Murray declares he had from Sir Thomas Sheridan, to whom the Prince referred him, adding that he is authorised by the Prince to apprise the King's friends in Scotland of them. Lord Traquair and Mr Erskine assure that our sages, and indeed all men of sense, perceived the malice and absurdity of these accusations, but that Lord Elcho, Sir James Stewart, and one Mr Nisbet of Dirleton, all influenced by Lord Marischal and Charles Smith, have joyned with John Murray in repeating those heads of grievances to all that would hear them. From this connexion of Murray with Sir Thomas Sheridan, and Lord Elcho's sudden call upon Sir Hector Maclean's arrival, the three gentlemen I have named above dread a deal of mischief: they are persuaded Sir Hector's journey was concerted, or rather directed, by Sir Thomas, and they think nothing but a letter from the Prince to Murray can prevent the bad consequences of it; wherefore they charge me to beg of his royal highness a proper letter on the occasion, desiring all your Majesty's friends to remain quiet, and to give no cause of suspicion to the Government until they receive further orders from your Majesty or himself. The Prince did me the honour to write to me above ten days ago, that he intended to be in town a few days after, which made me depend on his coming the beginning of last week; nevertheless I wrote to inform him that I was ready to go to Flanders whenever his royal highness would be pleased to send me his commands, but I have as yet no answer.

Note.—The Chevalier and Sempil corresponded in cipher. Sempil's letters were deciphered by Secretary Edgar and the reading interlined by him in the originals. Sem-

pil assumed the name of Frances Lacy, and Drummond of Balhady, who also corresponded in cipher, took the name of Walker and sometimes that of Watson. He is often called "the Doctor" in the correspondence. A cipher was seldom used for proper names, in stead of which feigned names were adopted. Thus,

Mr Adams,	for	The King of France.
Mr Talmash,	—	Prince Charles.
Foulis	—	The Duke of Ormond.
Isham,	—	Lord Marischal.
Mr Constable,	—	Cardinal Tencin.
Markham,	—	The Earl of Islay.
Mr Davis,	—	The Chevalier de St George.
Bright,	—	The Earl of Traquair.
Norris,	—	Sir Robert Walpole.
Griffith,	—	Sir William Watkins Wymie.
Touchet,	—	Carte, the Historian. *
Hales,	—	Colonel Cecil.
Lumley,	—	Sempil.
Watson, or Walker,	—	Drummond of Bochalady.
Credon,	—	Sir Thomas Sheridan.
Mr Tait,	—	Lord John Drummond
Morris,	—	Chas. Smith, a Banker in Boulogne.
Trebby,	—	Mr Kelly.
Barelay,	—	Murray of Broughton.
Jennings,	—	Mr Erskine, of Grange.
Morton,	—	Lord Barrymore.
Lister,	—	Sir James Campell.
Morison,	—	Waters, the Chevalier's Banker in Paris.
Mr Germain,	—	Sir John Hynde Cotton.

*No. XXIV.

The following letter is unsigned, but quoted as from "Mr Carte," in Secretary Edgar's hand. It bears the post-mark, and has the following address,

Au Rev. Père,
Le Blanc, Cordelier,
Au Grand Couvent des Cordeliers,
A Paris.

LONDON, April 9th, 1745.

DEAR SIR,

I WROTE to you on Christmas day a very particular account of the state of the Tobacco affair, and of what I had reason to think was the best way of buying that commodity. Still the business in Eden Street is the passes or license to send ships with it directly to France, in relation to which I told you, that the passes hitherto granted to ships, to go thither, were not a legal security against the insolence and rapine of our privateers, and therefore it was expected an act of Parliament would be brought in, to authorise the Crown to grant such passes, from time to time. No such act is as yet before the House, and the Crown would probably be willing its own authority should serve without the aid of Parliament, and accordingly, the case has been for some time under the consideration of the Attorney and Solicitor General, who are to give their opinion, as to the legality of such passes from the Crown, or the necessity of an act to empower them. I have not heard whether they have delivered

* Vide next Number.

their opinion, but the resolution must be taken soon, because the Parliament will rise before the end of this month, a message having been sent last Friday to the speaker to hasten the dispatch of business before the H. of C., because K. G. was resolved to be going abroad at the end of the next month, for which reason the House sate last Saturday and are not to lose a moment, in order to finish their business.

Since mine above mentioned, I have received one from you, which I answered immediately, and as you told me in it, that I should soon see a friend of mine here, I was in hopes that friend was yourself, and have ever since expected and longed to see you : it was this expectation that made me defer writing, but, my patience being at last exhausted, I write this to acquaint you, that all the uncertainty that prevailed among the merchants you had to do with, is removed, and they are come at length to a resolution : all that Monsieur at Paris insisted on, is agreed to in the best manner that can be ; all that is wanting, is your presence, and you need not be detained a moment, but shall carry back with you what he desires ; for otherwise we know not how to send it, and you have nothing to do but to settle with him the manner, and you shall have the conducting of all that he asks, and as it is ordered, he will have even more than he expects or was ever proposed. As I live in hopes every day of seeing you, I need add no more but to recommend expedition, and conclude—*nil mihi rescribas, quia ipse veniam*. Adieu.

I am ever yours.

Note,—The above letter appears to have been intended for either Sempil or Drummond, and evidently refers to negotiations with the English Jacobites. On receiving it, Father Le Blanc sent it to a Mr Dawkins along with the following note.

* MONSIEUR,

Voilà une lettre qui sans doute vous regarde plutôt que moi, puisque je n'entends pas l'Anglois. J'ai l'honneur d'être avec un très profond respect,

Monsieur,

Votre très humble et très obéissant serviteur,

F. LE BLANC.

A Paris, 2d May, 1745.

(Thus addressed)

Monsieur,

Monsieur Dawkins chez Mr

Waters l'ainé, Banquier, rue de l'Université,

A Paris.

* No. XXV.

Letter.—Prince Charles Edward to James Edgar, Esquire.

PARIS, *y^e* 16th January, 1745.

I HAVE received to of your letters allong with the King's and Duks. I am very glad you have got so good an occasion of sending sum of my things, but the would be more agreeable to me iff you had the bringing of them yourself. I am going in to or three days to my contry howse, where I will be at full liberty to have the spleen. It is now to months I have not handeled a gun, because of the bad weather and cold, for which I would be called *cacciotore di Panbianco* by the Duke iff he new it, in revenge for my calling him so formerly.

As soon as I am arrived at Fitz James I intend to begin again to shute, but not whin it rens (rains). You see by this that according as one advances in years one gets reason. Adieu.

CHARLES P.

* No. XXVI.

Letter.—The Chevalier de St George to the Prince.

ROME, March 1st, 1745.

I RECEIVED on Thursday last, my dearest Carluccio, yours of the 7th February, and one from Sir Thomas of the same date. Many kind compliments to him for what I may have to say in return to his letter. I suppose you will have had soon after you writ the paper you mention, I having directed Kerry* to give it to you, and I don't believe there was any other mystery in that matter but simply Kerry's fear that any body else but you should see it, on account of the names contained in it. But after what I have already said on this subject, I need add no more on it here, but that I don't remember that Kerry had any other papers of yours in his hands but that. After this I find Kerry in a very bad humour, and Morrice† not in a good, and it is really a grievous thing to me to see you all in pieces among yourselves, and that I can do nothing either to ease you or to vex ourselves, and it is even time and labour lost so much as to write on those vexatious subjects, for it looks as if almost nobody thought of any thing but lording it over one another, with little regard and respect for any thing or any body else. Enfin I see but too plainly that there is no remedy for certain things, which must go as they can, for I fear neither you nor I can get a remedy to them; and the worst of all is, that Williams‡ cannot but remark, more or less, the divisions that are amongst us, and that must greatly *discourage them from acting for us*.§ We shall now probably very soon see what they will really do in that respect, as well as in relation to your making a campaign. In the meantime, Isham must have *patience*, and never *quit your hold* as long as you can, for as long as the war lasts, we have always room to *hope for assistance from France*. As things have fallen out, I am persuaded that the interruption of L. S.|| negotiations was of no ill consequence; in respect to G. A. and Morgan being now allowed to act as formerly, must in all cases still be of some advantage, because we can depend on the information he gives us. I observe what Sir Thomas says of Frank. O.¶ now writes to me a great deal on those particular affairs, on which I expect to be further informed by the next letters, and I shall then write to you upon them. In the meantime, I much fear the hurt such negociators may do, and I am sure I expect no good from them, and I have even a very indifferent opinion of *Carte's* dis-

* Drummond of Bochaldu. "I should (says the Chevalier to Drummond, in a letter 26th January, 1745,) have been angry with you for not giving up a certain paper to the Prince, for really it was against all rule and very wrong. *Ma lo lo compatisco* for this time. Lord Sempil can explain to you that Italian expression, which is very significant, and should make you easy for what is past, and on receipt of this you will send the said paper to the Prince, who has mentioned this particular here, and who, I am very sure, feels the importance of secrecy in relation to that paper."

† Sempil.

‡ The King of France.

§ The words in Italics, in this and the following letters, are in ciphers in the original. The deciphering is interlined in the Prince's own hand.

|| Sempil.

¶ Colonel O'Bryan.

cretion, tho' a very good one of his loyalty. The Macdonnel's are still here; but I believe we shall have their good company but a very few days longer. Your brother has made a shift to divert himself a good dale these days past: he had a private comedy and a ball t'other night at Count Mariscoll's, and to-morrow night he is to end the Carnival with a grand supper at M^{re}. Bolognelli's. To-night he has at home the 3d and last ball, where I dare not so much as make my Compazza, for it is a terrible Tramontane, and I have been extremely troubled these days past with my usual ails. Lord Dumbar is layd up with the gout. I have nothing to add this Tuesday night but to beseech God to bless you, and in duty embracing you, my dearest child.

J. R.

* No. XXVII.

Letter.—The same to the same.

ROME, March 8th, 1745.

I RECEIVED on Thursday, my dearest Carluccio, yours of the 14th February, with one of the same date from Sir Thomas, and have seen what you both wrote to Edgar. It is certainly fact that the *private correspondent in E.* has been frightened, and that that *correspondence* has been interrupted, but what has been the original cause of all this I know not, neither has any body presumed to blame or tax Howel on that occasion with me. Kerry supposes there may be some treachery in the case, tho' I am more apt to believe it may merely come from surmises and jealousies, which have put E. G. on means which have frightened the *correspondent*; but what is really *bad* and sure is, that that *correspondence* is interrupted, which is very unlucky at this time especially, but there is no help for it. I know nothing of any *peoples* being sent to England and Scotland and coming from thence, but what Littleton mentions; but what I see too much is, that people in general are so full of their little views and politicks, and are so blinded with them, that it is scarce possible any good can come from such managements and managers, but to all this I dont see what remedy either you or I can put, and our great attention now must be to do nothing which may make things worse, and do harm, and to proceed with great caution with *whoever* may happen to *come over from E. or S.* For let what will be as to other matters, to speak impartially, the chief branch of *our hope* at present is certainly in Morrice's and *O's* endeavours *with F. C.*, and therefore *they* must be borne with, and managed with great care and attention, at least for some weeks, till we see what *turn affairs* are like to take *at home and abroad.*

I am persuaded *B.* would never encourage Isham's coming privately to Paris. if he were not very sure Ward would not disapprove of it, and therefore I am not sorry on that particular. But in general, I must always recommend to Jenkins to avoid carefully doing any thing that may disgust Adam, or give an handle to people to do *you* any ill offices with *him.*

The Spanish army is in motion, and General Macdonnel leaves us in a few days to go and joyn it. I have yet got no answer from *S.* about Hicks, nor cannot have any before the next Spanish courier. The Duke had a great *conversazione* on Saturday for his birth-day, when there was a vast dale of company, but I could not go there myself on account of my usual ails, tho' I dont keep the house neither, but I have been but little abroad these days past, the weather being extremely bad.

The 9th. Having received no further accounts about Frank, &c. directly from themselves, I can say nothing on those matters till I hear more about them. Adieu, my dearest Carluccio. I pray God to bless you, and in duty embrace you.

JAMES R.

Mr Townly having been told that he was not to follow the Duke to a campaign, in case he made one, has desired to return into France, and will, I believe, set out in a few days. The truth is, I have little reason to be pleased with either him or Strickland, but provided they keep within proper bounds for the future, it is not my intention to give them any mark of displeasure, and I shall be even glad to befriend them as occasion offers, tho' the less you have to do with them when in France the better. I shall write more fully to you next week on this disagreeable subject.

J. R.

* No. XXVIII.

Letter.—The same to the same.

ROME, March 16th, 1745.

THE French post only came in last Friday, and brought me my dearest Carluccio's letter of the 21st February, and I have also seen what you and Sir Thomas wrote to Edgar. I remark what Littleton says about a *person coming from Scotland*. I dont see that any thing we can receive from thence just now can have any influence on the *Re.* of the *F. C.*, while the jealousies and little secrets there is amongst *our people* may be of very ill consequence, and too much caution and prudence cannot be used in all that relates to *messages* and *correspondence with our F. at home*. I see with pleasure how strictly you kept *the secret* of that *correspondence with E.*, which is now interrupted; but I dont really see the least reason to suspect *that person's* probity, neither was *he trusted* with certain *secrets*, and, I believe, with little more than the *connivance of L.*; so that I cannot but think the *interruption of this* correspondence a loss, and shall be impatient on all accounts to have it renewed. I believe Kerry is ashamed of his not giving up the paper you mentioned; but if he has not given it to you already, he certainly will, upon what I now write to him, for I cannot believe he really sent it to Lisbon.* When all these Feasts are over I hope I shall know something from Morrice as to *our own affairs*, but I own I have little *hope of Williams's*† doing *G. matters for us* this summer, and Grevil would almost compound to be sure of *your making a campaign*, as to which you will probably know *your doom* by this time.

Morgan will inform you of what I now write to him in relation to Frank and Father Cruise; so I must say nothing here on those particulars. I also now write to him (Morgan) a particular about *S.*, of which you will inform *S.* when you see him, with my kind compliments, in return to his letter of 20th February. It was, it is true, quite against my *Sistema* to bring his name upon the tapis in relation to *the K's* nomination, but in the present case, the respect due to the *K. of S.* made it unavoidable; and whatever the *Bishop of Renne's* ambition may prompt him to, I cannot believe the *K. of S.* himself will do any

* Probably meant for London or Edinburgh.

† The King of France.

thing to obstruct the *K.*'s views in favour of *S.*, now that he is acquainted with them. Townly parts to-morrow with the French courier, and will, I reckon, arrive in Paris soon after this; he has asked my leave to go and see you, which I have allowed of, because it is not my intention to give him any publick mark of displeasure, tho' it is known more or less that I am not pleased with him: so that on all accounts, my dear child, it would not be right you should give him a certain countenance, nor have any kind of familiarity with him, tho' I look upon him to have been more a fool than any thing else. Strickland wont be in France so soon, because he stays to take the waters of Lucca. But in general for these two be on your guard, never to give them any countenance, nor to allow them to be in any way about you. It is what you owe to your own character, to your brother, and to me, and this is, I am sure, enough on these subjects to so good a son as you are, for it is impossible to explain certain things by writing, and tho' I shall tell you all when I may be so happy as to see you, yet in general I intend to be very silent on these subjects, as the most prudent party, the most becoming a Master, and the most effectual to knock all these little, but wicked politicks on the head. (I thank God I am tolerably well, and all yours, my dearest child, whom I beseech God to bless and direct, most tenderly embracing you.

JAMES R.

* No. XXIX.

Letter.—The same to the same.

ROME, March 23d, 1745.

I WAS in hopes not to have been obliged to name Strickland again to you so soon. But it is fit you should know that he was this morning with the Duke, to see, I suppose, what he could draw from him. He pretended to be in great concern for the Dukes being displeased with him; he disowned having any share in Townly's operations, and said he was glad I had sent him away from him: he pretended to have meddled with nothing that related to the Duke for some years past, but he owned that he had formerly made a complaint of the Duke to me; but he said it was by your express order. The Duke said little, but when he named you, he let him feel the respect he had for you, and how assured he was of your affection. You will not perhaps understand all this, but you may judge by it what odd work we have had here amongst us, and in some measure what sort of spirit Strickland is of. It is really unconceiveable with what malice and violence people have acted against the Duke. Tho' at the same time, the more I see into these matters the less I comprehend them, and the blacker they look. And I own I am under the greatest uneasiness for fear Strickland's stories should have made impression upon you. I have no scruple to say he is an ill man, and conjure of you to forget if possible whatever he may have said to you on any subject. But still I will, if possible, avoid all eclat, and I hope I shall compass it. I have said nothing as yet of all these matters to Lord Dumbard, who has, I fear, been himself too much mixed up with them, but it is for my purpose to bear with him for the present, and I believe he is both mortified and freighted, so that I hope, for some time at least, he will not give me much trouble.

JAMES R.

* No. XXX.

Letter.—The same to the same.

ROME, March 23, 1745.

WHEN I received, my dearest Carluccio, last week your letter of the 28th February, I did not expect to have a long one from you, and am the more impatient to have another one from you, to know you are well after the fatigue of diversions. I suppose you will have seen Morrice before you left Paris. You will have had the paper you wanted from Kerry, and by what he will have informed you, you will see how little reason there is to suspect the probity of *the private E. correspondent*. A man that acts as he does may certainly be depended upon. I was mighty glad to observe, in one of your former letters, that you had not mentioned that particular *correspondence* to any body. In things of a certain nicety and importance, that is the surest rule, and even a great means to prevent tracasseries ; but, in matters in which you must act and want advice, I am persuaded your secrets will be very safe in Littleton's hands, and, that while you have the advantage of knowing his opinion, it will be the same thing as if you had confided them to nobody ; for he has, I am sure, too much discretion and prudence to let other people remark the degree of confidence you may have in him, and in this shape you will be assisted, and no inconvenience can happen. I am in hopes my next letters may bring me something of business and about Isham's campaign. In the mean time I have nothing to say on those articles. I am glad to find O'Sullivan is now with you. When a gentleman is capable of such detail and drudgery as that of family expenses, you will find it both of ease and advantage to you because you can depend upon him, and he can act either with more franchezza and less soggezione than one of an inferior rank, and on all accounts it behoves you much not to outrun your small income. Marsi will write next week to Sir Thomas, for he reckons to receive another letter from him about Michel, who shall be paid here or at Paris as you have a mind. Waters shall have orders to pay Sir Thomas and Stafford their arrears and the current for the future, and Marsi shall do the same here as to Forbes and the footman. As to Francois I leave him to you, and he deserves you should do something for him. If you make a campaign you could make him a head groom, or do something of that kind for him ; and in all events, altho' he had wore a livery long, yet I should not think it too much to make him a valet-de-chambre if you found him fit for it. You are really obliged to do something for him, but as to the way and manner it is but just you should decide. I have no manner of news to send you from hence, but that poor Stellina is dead in Parto and left 4 puppies behind her. We have now mighty fine weather which I hope will do me good for a little deafness I have had for some weeks past ; otherways my health is much as usual. Adieu, my dearest child. God bless you. I tenderly embrace you.

JAMES R.

* No. XXXI.

Letter.—The same to the same.

ROME, March 30th, 1745.

I RECEIVED on Wednesday last, my dearest Carluccio, yours of the 7th.* It is a great comfort to me to hear you are in good health. Would to God I had as much reason to be easy on other matters. Edgar had much ado to decypher your letter. When you have much to cypher you should really make use of another hand, for that is a drudgery which does not belong to you, and a mistake in cyphering may, on many occasions, be of consequence. After that you want to use no caution or management in your letters to me, for I am sure you wont write to me what is not, and your age and your want of experience, as you term it, are even motives for you to write the more freely and fully to me on all matters, for you may be very sure I shall never expose yourself or your letters so as to do you any prejudice, but always give the best advice and all the assistance I can on what you write to me about, and every thing else.

I find Morrice is mortified for his not having seen you when you were at Paris, and on account of a letter you should have writ him about his E cypher, of which I really believe he gave you a full and true copy : neither do I see the use there was for your asking that cypher of him, for that correspondence being in his hands alone, the cypher could be of no use to you, and I find he suspects there may have been in this particular some fetch of those about you. You may be sure I am very cautious to avoid putting you in the wrong with other people, whatever I may think myself, and I cannot, indeed, judge well of smaller matters, especially at this distance. But, in general, I cannot but recommend to you to bear with Kerry and Morrice, and not to disgust them more than is absolutely necessary, for that is certainly for our service. It is true I was formerly uneasy to see both your *person* and *affairs* in their hands alone, but that is no more the case, and should never be it as to them or any body else, tho' I fear it is what most of our people aim at, and therefore you must particularly be on your guard and endeavour to carry towards all with as equal an hand as possible, acting like Master without giving room to any set of people to say they have the management of you.

I remarked with pleasure what you say to the Duke about his campaign, but I am afraid the grounds of your hopes are not very great, since you say nothing on that subject to me. Neither have I yet had from Wright the answer about your campaign. Should you make it, there will be an absolute necessity of your being attended there by some officer of merit and distinction. I can think of none who appear to me to be proper for that, except Lord Thonmond or Lord Tyrconnel, neither do I know whether the employments they have would allow them to attend you without a certain prejudice to themselves. You will do well to consult 185 and Morgan on this particular, which is really of consequence, and nobody can advise you better than they as to the choice of a proper person. I say all this at a venture, in case you should go to the field; and I own I cannot but hope you will at last, because the more I think of it the more I think it would be *scandalous and monstrous in the French should they not allow you to do so.*

* None of the letters from the Prince mentioned in this and the foregoing letters appear among the Stuart Papers in the possession of his majesty.

Nothing can be more commendable, my dear child, than the sentiments you express on occasion of the money you took from young Waters. But there indeed, your age and want of experience must induce you to let yourself be advised and directed, as to the right application of such sentiments ; and therefore I cannot but tell you freely that I am sorry you have given the money in question. In our present situation we have no other solid *hope for our Restoration but from the F. and the Resolutions of Court* : that depend chiefly, if not solely, in what relate to *E.* and not to *S.* You know we can do nothing for ourselves without a certain number of foreign troops, and whenever *France* may think fit to give them, our case becomes theirs, and they will not stand it. So that I look on the article of the *B. S.* to be a trifling circumstance as to the main object, and that in general, had we more money than we have, it would not be laying it out prudently to be employing it to uses which are of so distant, so uncertain, and so small advantage to the cause. If there was really occasion of our sending a person into *E.* or *S.*, we must be sure to pay his expenses, and that I hope we shall be always able to do, because such messages should not, and cannot well happen often, and cost but little. But in general, I have layd it down as a rule to myself, especially considering my present circumstances, not to lay out a shilling on such sort of expenses in this juncture. All these messages from *S.* end in nothing but costing money either to my friends or to me, and in fomenting tracasseries and divisions. And as for any negotiations in *E.* if my *F.* there on one side, and the *F. C.* on t'other, will not defray such charges, I think it a manifest proof that their good wishes for us are very faint, and that we have little to expect from them. I have enlarged the more on these subjects for your information and instruction. For after that, were occasions of expenses never so pressing, I have not money to lay out upon them, and it is not in my power to give you credit for the least sum. Whatever I have, or may have, is to be sure for you, or rather yours ; but I cannot give what I have not, and should you take up any more money you must not expect I should pay it. But for this once, the thing being now done, what you have taken up from young Waters shall be repaid him, and I write this post to his uncle on that affair, about which you will hear from him. But it is fit you should know, that to pay this money I shall be forced to take part of it out of the little fund of one hundred thousand crowns you know I have here, which I shall do with great reluctance, because I look upon that small fund to be more yours than mine, and that I think prudence requires we should endeavour to have always such a sum at our disposal for our personal wants and uses, since nobody knows what accidents may happen, and what straits we may be put to in process of time. I think the same about your jewels as I do about this fund, though you are to be sure entirely master of the first. Neither one nor t'other can produce a sum which can at present be of any real use towards our restoration, but they may be of great use to us on many occasions for our personal wants and expenses ; and had you not taken up now this 40,000 livres, I should have been able to have given you a small supply for your campaign, if you make one, and in case the *F. C.* did not give you what was sufficient,; and I own I think it had been much better employed on you than on *B. S.* ; but I cannot give you what I have not, nor will I run in debt myself to pay yours. I think I have nothing further to add on these subjects. I owed to myself and to you to be free and full upon them, and I am sure my dear Carluccio will take all I have said as kindly as I mean it, and as it really is, for I am sure I have, nor can have nothing in view, but your real good and advantage in all respects, of which, if you had the least doubt, you would wrong me very much.

I have at last named Cardinal Lanet Protector for England, and the Pope, at my desire, has given him the Protectorship of the English College. (Adieu, my dear child. I beseech God to bless and direct you, and tenderly embrace you, being all yours. We have fine weather, but I am still a good deal deaf and (a word unintelligible) as usual.

JAMES R.

* No. XXXII.

Letter.—Prince Charles to his Father.

FITZ JAMES, 5th April, 1745.

SIR,

I STILL always continue, thank God, in perfect good health, and that is the only good I can say at present, for I see little apierence of any great thing from the F. C., or of my making the campaign. I have been also refused the Pasports I mentioned to you some posts ago, that had been asked by the *Duke of Perth*. You may judg by all these things how much reason I have to be out of umer (humour), but notwithstanding one must submit to the will of God, and have patience, for lett them do what they will to me, it is absolutely and unavoidably necessary to bear with it, *coute qui coute*. I only hope in the Almighty, that he will reward us for our patience and constance. I shant fail to mention to the B. of Soissons what you tell me by yours of y^e 16th March, which I have just now received, and have nothing more to add for the present, having but disagreeable subjects to dwell upon. I lay myself at your majesty's feet, most humbly asking blessing,

Your moste dutifull son,

CHARLES P.

* No. XXXIII.

Letter.—The same to the same.

NAVABRE, y^e 13th June, 1745.

SIR,

IT is a mortification to me not to be able to acknowledg here y^r Italian packet. I have found an occasion to send you a letter with yesterday, it being by a shure hand. I have said some things in it I cannot put here. I have nothing in the world to add here but that I am, thank God, in a perfect good health, and receive many civilities and attentions from y^e folks here, which all coms from y^e Duke of Bouillon. I lay myself at your majesty's feet, moste humbly asking blessing, and remain,

Your moste dutifull son,

CHARLES P.

* No. XXXIV.

Extract from a Letter of Lord Marischal to the Chevalier de St George, dated Avignon, September 5th, 1744.

I CANT enough admire that your majesty was not sufficiently informed of the *affairs last winter*:* it confirms me in the opinion for which I have had good grounds, that *Lord Sempil* and *Balhady* imposed on all sides: on *your majesty*, as would appear by what *you* now write; on *your friends in England*, by giving *them assurances* not all well grounded; and on *the court of France*, by not telling justly *the demands of friends in England*. *Mr Amelot* said to me that he told *Lord Sempil*, *you say one thing, and friends in England another, —whom am I to believe?* I wish, Sir, it be not found that *the Prince* has been *more deceived than any one*. As to the *Duke of Ormond*, it is very plain he *was not only excluded from the service*, but was to be *from any share in the execution*; the *time he was advertised* shows this: he has *your majesty's confidence and commission*: he has *great credit in England*, as every (one) knows. Either *Lord Sempil* must have *abused your majesty's name* to have him *excluded*, or *the court of France* must have had *such designs* as they knew the *Duke of Ormond* would *not be assisting to*: as to *myself* I shall say little, only that there was *not only no design to employ me*, but there was *none to any assistance in Scotland*. If *Lord Sempil* believed what he said, *his correspondence and intelligence* was very *bad*: if he did not, the *matter is still worse*: he told *the Duke of Ormond*, before he left the neighbourhood of *Paris*, that he would have a *message to recal him* before he *got to Lyons*, and that he was to *command eleven thousand men* ready to *embarh at Brest*. *Your majesty* is wise and just. Can you *desire that either the Duke of P. or I undertake ever any thing* on the word of *Lord Sempil* and *Balhady*, who not only have *the boldness to impose (as far as they can) on all the world*, but also to *conceal from your majesty so great affairs*; and I believe *your majesty* will find that this *odd incognito of the Prince* came in a great measure from *their desire of imposing on him*, and therefore *keeping him from seeing such as from honor and duty would tell him truth*.

*No. XXXV.

Letter supposed to be written by Murray of Broughton under the name of "J. Barclay" to Prince Charles, without place or date.

SIR,

On the 24th of last month I had the honour to despatch a pretty large packet for your royal highness. It contained a journal of the most material occurrences from my leaving Paris, with the coppys of some letters wrote by Mr Lumley† and Lord Maxwell, with my own remarks upon them, which

* The words in italics are in cipher in the original.

† A name assumed by Sempil.

were approved of by *Lochiel** and Dan. It consists, likewise, of letters from *Lord Elcho* and *St James*, Dan, with one to Mr *Edgar* and one to Mr *Kelly*. Your royal highness will see that it ought to have reached you long ere now, neither was it in my power to remedy the delay. As I could not be the bearer myself without giving up thoughts of returning to this country ; and your R. H. will likewise be pleased to observe *D. of Perth*, was from time to time disappointed of the ship he prepared to freight for that use ; neither has he got her. At least has not hitherto acquainted me of it. This obliged me, as I could not in prudence trust it to Mr Blair, to send it by Mr *Sinton* to *London*, from whence I hope he either has already, or will in a day or two, dispatch it ; so that I am hopefull it will be arrived long before this comes to him, yet thought it necessary, whatever accident might happen to delay it, to lay hold on this opportunity of advertising your R. H. that such a packet was on the way.

The Emperor's death makes people here very busy in their conjecture about the French politicks ; some imagine it may occasion a peace, others that the French will endeavour to make up matters with Russia whereby she may be enabled to make the Elector of Saxony head of the empire, and put King Stanislaws on the throne of Poland ; whatever may be the consequences I wish the French may not pretend, that being obliged to march their troops to the Rhine to influence the election, (which they probably will do) necessitates them to put a further stop to the *expedition to England*. We had a report here, some days ago, that the troops had got orders to march for the coasts of Kent and Sussex. What may be in it I dont know for certain, whether they have got any intelligence of preparations on the other side, or if it be done with a view to countenance their raising such large sums of money, and perhaps by way of argument for making more new levies.

There is one particular I must observe, and what I take to be of the utmost consequence ; Lord *Morton*, I am informed, has been at *Paris* all this winter ; he is one of the most inveterate enemys to y^r R. H's family in the island, and tho' I may be wrong, yet I cant help conjecturing, that he is there purposely to discover what is adooing, from which y^r R. H. will no doubt be on your guard, as to what people resorts to y^r royal person, and endeavour, if possible, to make counter spy him, a thing not at all difficult in so large a town. It may be objected that a man of his rank would not be so little as act that part, but it must be observed, on the other hand, that it is his interest, and I have personally known as great a man as he acting in the same sphere ; and I must say, altho' with concern, that the generality of this country have attained to that degree of venality as renders them capable of any thing.

This comes by the *Master of Strathallan*, who has engaged to deliver it to Mr *Smith*.† I settled a correspondence with Mr Andrew Forbes, merchant in Rotterdam, whom I hope will serve fit for any single letter of no great consequence : the letter must be directed to him, and under his cover to Mr Barclay, which he will forward to his correspondent, at the coffee-house, who will send it to me, either by the common post or by some private hand, as Mr Forbes is desired to acquaint him. This thought necessary to advertise y^r R. H. of, and at the same time, in case Mr Fergus's‡ ship should not come in time, if y^r R. H. judge it necessary to give us any intelligence of what is doing. Mr Buchanan, or any other, may safely come by the way of Holland ; and if there is a ship

* The names &c. in italics are in ciphers in the original, but interlined with the proper names, in the Prince's hand-writing.

† A banker at Boulogne.

‡ The Duke of Perth.

there ready to sail for this place, he may, without any questions asked, come by the packet-boat to Harwich, and upon his arrival here he has only to ask for me, at Mr *Macdougall*, merchant in this place. I shall take up no more of y^r R. H's time, than to beg leave to subscribe myself, with the utmost veneration and attachment,

May it please your Royal Highness,

Your Royal Highness's most obedient

And most devoted humble servant,

J. BARCLAY.

END OF VOL. II.

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A

HISTORY OF THE HIGHLANDS

AND OF

THE HIGHLAND CLANS,

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Author of "*Apperçu sur les Hiéroglyphes d'Égypte et les progrès faits jusqu' à présent dans leur Déchiffrement,*"
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